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A Celebration of Folk Burlesque: Ukrainian Mock Weddings in Saskatchewan

by

Nadya Orisya Foty ©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Ukrainian Folklore

Department of Modern Languages and Cultural Studies

Edmonton, Alberta

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Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research

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Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky

Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky

11 September 2003

Prof. David Barnet

Abstract

Mock weddings have a long and vibrant history on the Canadian prairies. As it is now practiced, friends and family of the bride and groom cross-dress as a wedding entourage and stage part of the wedding. Although entirely comedic and often a parody of actual events, some regard the mock wedding as an important component of the wedding complex. This thesis attempts to analyze the mock wedding tradition as it has been practiced by Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatchewan over the last sixty years. Six of the twenty-two remembrances collected appear as case studies included in this thesis. The thesis is largely exploratory in nature, discussing structure, content and function of mock weddings within the specific context. Analysis of the research shows that there are both Ukrainian traditional and Canadian prairie innovative elements active in mock weddings that have coalesced to create this tradition in the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan.

This thesis is dedicated to…

…my parents, Yurko and Lesya Foty, who have provided me with unconditional love and support throughout this process. It is by their example that they have instilled in me a deep admiration and respect for my history and for those who came before me.

…my grandparents, Reverend Dmytro and Minodora Foty, and Ivan and Olya Yusypchuk, who came to this country in the hopes of a brighter future for their families.

…and to the Ukrainian pioneers, who made the brave journey across the ocean over one hundred years ago. Their stories have inspired me to find my true passion in this life, and have helped shape all things connected with this study. Although we may not have traveled the same path, I believe that we are of the same spirit.

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The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the assistance and support of the following individuals: I am indebted to Dr. Andriy Nahachewsky for his inexhaustible advice, assistance and support; Dr. Bohdan Medwidsky and all those at the Ukrainian Folklore Centre for cheering on this project; Drs. Michael Taft, Pauline Greenhill and Olena Boriak for their help and encouragement; Sogu Hong and John Moroz for their technical assistance; my family and friends for their infinite patience and understanding over these last several months. Finally, I would like to express heartfelt appreciation to the individuals who opened their homes and so generously welcomed me into their memories – it is my sincerest hope that I have given life to their remembrances.

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Introduction

> Obviously, the Ukrainians of Saskatchewan are determined to remain in the vanguard of developments in Ukrainian-Canadian life. But they are equally committed to retaining the best of the old values – respect for one's ancestors and their venerable traditions. Nowhere is this more evident than at a wedding, especially one in the farm country near North Battleford, Cudworth, or Canora. Typically a three-day affair that may involve as many as a thousand people, a wedding is more than just a gathering of the clan. It is a celebration of the very essence of community, in a spirit of goodwill that is most eloquently summed up in the joyous toast to the couple: '*Na zdorovlia!*' – the signal for the festivities to begin.[1]

In most cultures the world over, weddings are joyous events bringing together generations for celebration. This rite of passage[2] has been widely researched and avidly studied. The phenomenon of "mock weddings" is not uncommon to several cultures, though it has gone largely unnoticed in academic writing. Among the Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatchewan, the mock wedding is burlesque[3] - a parody in which friends and family of the bride and groom dress as a wedding entourage and stage either a marriage ceremony, a wedding celebration, or a combination of both. The actors have assigned roles, yet they improvise much of the dialogue and actions. Costumes and props are literally thrown together at a moment's notice, and the folk drama is often characterized by cross-dressing, bawdy behavior and general revelry. This production of a "ritual within a ritual,"[4] most commonly occurs the day after a given wedding, at the gift opening (*popravyny*). The importance and structure of the traditional marriage rituals give way to the chaos and revelry of the mock wedding. Though entirely comedic, and often a parody[5] of actual events, to some the mock wedding is an essential component and the rite of passage is not complete without it.

---

[1] Jars Balan, *Salt and Braided Bread: Ukrainian Life in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1984) 103.

[2] The term "rites of passage" was first coined by Arnold van Gennep in his book by the same title (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960). This term refers to the transitions that take place between the three stages of life – birth, marriage, and death.

[3] "A ludicrous imitation: an entertainment combining often coarse jokes, strip-tease, songs, and dancing," as defined in *The Wordsworth Concise English Dictionary*, 1994 ed.

[4] Michael Taft, "Folk Drama on the Great Plains: The Mock Wedding in Canada and the United States," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* 56.4 (Fall 1989) 17.

This study attempts to describe the mock wedding tradition as practiced by Ukrainian Canadians in Saskatchewan over the last sixty years. The project is largely exploratory in nature. It is partly diachronic, touching on the structure, content, and function of the mock wedding within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan. The descriptive aspects of this research illustrate that there are both traditional and innovative elements active in mock weddings within the community, demonstrating the continuity and change of this tradition on the prairies.

In the first half of the twentieth century, most Ukrainians in Canada lived in rural areas, more specifically in certain block settlements. Saskatchewan concentrations included the east-central Ukrainian colony in the Yorkton district, and its counterpart in central Saskatchewan, in the area of Fish Creek.[6] Immigrants to Canada from Ukraine gravitated to these ethnically concentrated areas, attracted not only by agricultural opportunities, but also by the prospects of maintaining a sense of community which would ensure the retention of their language and culture.

---

[5] "A burlesque or satirical imitation," as defined in *The Wordsworth Concise English Dictionary*, 1994 ed.

[6] These colonies directly correspond to the origins of the informants involved in the study. They were considered to be the primary "block settlements" in Saskatchewan, as cited in Julian V. Stechishin's *A History of Ukrainian Settlement in Canada*, ed. David Lupul (Saskatoon: Ukrainian Self-Reliance League of Canada, 1992)156, 165. Detailed historical maps showing these Ukrainian block settlements can be found in Lubomyr Y. Luciuk and Bohdan S. Kordan's *Creating a Landscape: A Geography of Ukrainians in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989)3. The block settlements of Yorkton and Fish Creek were considered to be two of the three largest and most homogeneous blocks by 1905, as indicated by Orest T. Martynowych in *Ukrainians in Canada: The Formative Period, 1891-1924* (Edmonton: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies Press, 1991) 78.

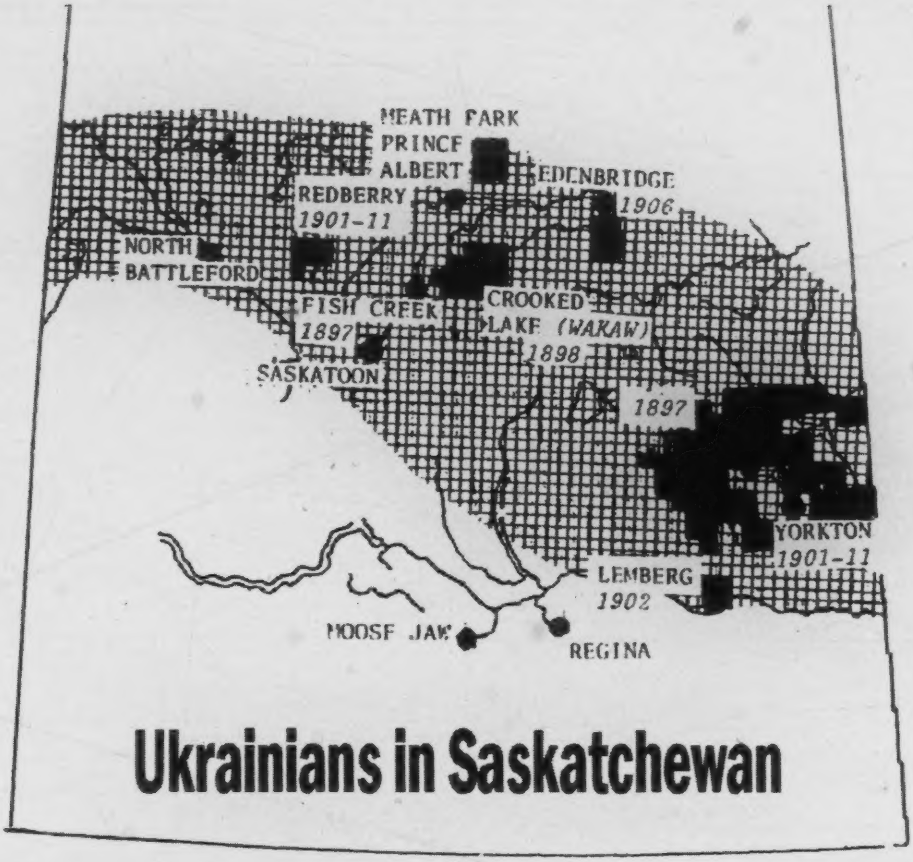

Figure 1 - A map showing Ukrainian population in Saskatchewan. The black areas correspond to the block settlements and the years reflect their establishment.[7]

Such ties to their homeland were important as many immigrants were homesick for village life and disliked the system of isolated farms imposed by Canadian policies.[8] The notion of "community" played a major role in the lives of the immigrants, most definitely in the rural setting. These community ties in the block settlements helped formulate and shape the concept of a "Ukrainian Canadian" identity.

The first wave of immigrants to Canada consisted primarily of peasants, and it was expected that their culture would have an influence on many aspects of their new lives,[9] primarily on church life, social customs, oral traditions, culinary practices, handicrafts, and the performing arts.[10] The folklore of the people was quickly transplanted and adapted to the new environment in Canada, and in combination with the reproduction of kinship, village, county and religious affiliations, there soon developed a "familiar social and cultural milieu" in the new Ukrainian communities scattered across the prairies.[11]

---

[7] This map appears in *Saskatchewan People: A Brief Illustrated Guide to their Ethnocultures*, by Zenon Pohorecky (1978). It was adapted for the purpose of this thesis by the author.
[8] Martynowych, 74.

Perhaps the most sentimentally valuable of rituals in times of loneliness and isolation were those tied to the spiritual culture. No matter what other worries there may have been, the circle of human life did not stop, and to ease these moments of profound change the immigrants turned to the traditional rituals and joined as a community to commemorate important life cycle transitions. During such times, with family members often living oceans apart, neighbours in the block settlements became an important source of assistance and moral support.

> On one hand, folklore is traditional, appearing in contexts which are historically known and understood in a particular group or community, and taking forms which are very familiar, even conservative. On the other, folklore is emergent, being adapted by particular performers to their own needs and those of their audiences at individual performances in temporally and spatially unique situations.[12]

As an expression of folklore, mock weddings can be characterized as part of the genre of folk drama, which is defined as "a traditional play activity that relies primarily on dialogue to establish its meaning and that tells a story through the combination of dialogue and action, the outcome of which is known to the audience ahead of time."[13] In addition to the important oral component of folk drama, costuming and movement are integral components in the communication of the performance, be it oral or otherwise. Since most of the information conveyed in a folk drama performance is directly transmitted it leads to a close relationship between the performers and the audience. The actors speak in improvised dialogue and often utilize cross-dressing and bawdy behavior as they parody community personages, rituals and ceremonies.[14] Often the occurrence of folk drama reflects the life cycle, marking important phases or transitions such as birth, marriage or death. The context in which it is performed is informal and often spontaneous (either in an enclosed indoor space or a defined outdoor space) and the characters (and their costuming) tend to be unusual as compared to the everyday.[15]

---

[9] The first wave of Ukrainian immigration occurred between 1891 and 1914. Some 170,000 Ukrainian immigrants made up this first wave of immigration, forming ten major Ukrainian block settlements in western Canada. (Martynowych, 70)

[10] Ol'ha Woycenko, *The Ukrainians in Canada*, Canada Ethnica IV (Ottawa: Centennial Commission and Canada Ethnic Press Federation, 1967) 26.

[11] Martynowych, 73.

[12] Pauline Greenhill, "Folk Drama in Anglo Canada and the Mock Wedding: Transaction, Performance, and Meaning," *Canadian Drama* 14.2 (1988) 174.

Remembrances of twenty-two mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan have been collected as part of this project. These accounts span over six decades, from the 1930s to 2000. The remembrances collected are of mock weddings which took place in Saskatchewan, mostly in the Yorkton region, and in the area stretching from Saskatoon northeast to Nipawin. In these areas, mock weddings flourished to such an extent that it was common to witness this tradition the day after the wedding.[16]

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[13] Roger D. Abrahams, "Folk Drama," *Folklore and Folklife: An Introduction*, ed. Richard M. Dorson, (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1972) 353.

[14] Michael Taft, "Drama, Folk," *American Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Jan Harold Brunvand, (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996) 208.

[15] "Drama, Folk," *Folklore*, 210.

[16] Such an assertion was made by the following informants: Nick Budzak (8 March 2003), Anne Hluchaniuk (10 April 2003), Alice Prociuk (9 March 2003).

In this study personal interviews were conducted and many photographs collected. The particular informants were chosen largely by "snowball sampling"[17] whereby acquaintances in the community were contacted, and they provided other names, which in turn suggested additional individuals (see Appendix A). The interviews were usually conducted in the homes of the informants and recorded on audiotape.[18] In general, my interview methodology leaned towards semi-structured interviews. The informants were asked to recount their remembrances of mock weddings initially in general and later in specific terms. The prepared set of questions (see Appendix B) was used merely as a guide with which to steer the direction of the conversations and to fill in missing gaps after most of the informants' descriptions had taken place. The questions also provided uniformity to the data collected, enabling the construction of a comparison chart (see Appendix C). It is on the basis of these remembrances that the analysis of mock weddings in this study has been carried out.[19]

All of the informants interviewed now live in Saskatoon, having moved to the city from one of the two rural areas mentioned previously. These geographic territories were not homogeneously Ukrainian, though some informants stated that

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[17] This term refers to the method of fieldwork in which "each person interviewed leads the researcher to the person or persons, based on a designated set of criteria." Robert J. Trotter and Jean J. Schensul, "Methods in Applied Anthropology," *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russel Bernard, (Walnut Creek: Altamira Press, 1998) 705.

[18] A copy of the fieldwork collected for this study will be deposited into the *Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives* at the Ukrainian Folklore Centre, University of Alberta (accession number 2003.066).

[19] My own participation in the Mohyla Summer School and Chayka mock weddings (referred to later in this thesis) has also been useful in gaining a better sense of this complex. Though I was not researching mock weddings at the time, my personal experiences and impressions have influenced this study.

"almost all of the families in the area were Ukrainian."[20] Understandably, most of the mock wedding remembrances were of those performances that took place in the informants' particular rural areas, and although maintained in the later urban setting, most informants agreed they were more common "back home."

A systematic geographic study has not been conducted, and the areas of mock wedding activity simply reflect the centres where the particular informants came from. With further research one might well find evidence of mock weddings (within the Ukrainian context or otherwise) in other parts of Saskatchewan, or in other prairie provinces. At least one informant interviewed had heard of mock weddings occurring in another Ukrainian block settlement near Dauphin, Manitoba.[21]

In addition to the personal interviews, library and archival research has been undertaken to discover the origin of the tradition and to link it to related phenomena practiced elsewhere. Folk dramas performed as entertainment in rural areas are not well documented. This scarcity of scholarly research on the subject of mock weddings is likely the result of the fact that the mock weddings were often bawdy and frequently perceived as politically incorrect.

The few previous studies on mock weddings have been largely descriptive and inconclusive, stating, "…Further research might reveal a more complex pattern of influence and dissemination of the greater North American wedding parody tradition…".[22] The focus of these previous studies, two by Michael Taft in the prairie region of Canada and the United States, and a study of mock weddings and folk drama in central Anglo Canada by Pauline Greenhill, has largely been the role of women and the psychological intents and implications of gender reversal and cross-dressing. Although this is not the focus of my research project, their articles have been very helpful.

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[20] Joanne Makowsky, personal interview, 6 March 2003.

[21] Reverend Taras Makowsky, personal interview, 6 March 2003. Archival documentation of mock weddings in this area apparently exist as part of the Malofey photo collection in the Archives of Manitoba.

[22] Michael Taft, "The Mock Wedding: Folk Drama in Saskatchewan and the Plain States," *Folklife Centre News* (Summer 1989) 8.

A doctoral dissertation entitled *Women's voices in Northern New York's mock wedding performance* by Brenda J. Goodenough Verardi discusses the messages sent by the specific group of women performers being studied, and how those around them interpret their communication.[23] Again, although written from a different perspective, the research and substantial bibliography provide additional information on the topic.

The structure of this thesis and themes covered hopefully give the reader a vision of the context in which the mock wedding took place and of its function in the lives of those who practiced them. The photographs and video footage that were made available by the informants document valuable details of the events captured.

Chapter One consists of six case studies – descriptions of mock weddings each representing the 1940s, 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, and the 1990s. Along with a detailed account of the particular environment, the structure and the aesthetic components of the specific mock wedding, each case study is accompanied by photographs that depict the event and help to tell its' story. The intention is that after having discussed the six mock weddings spanning most of the twentieth century, patterns and differences will begin to be evident.

---

[23] Brenda J. Goodenough Verardi, *Women's voices in Northern New York's mock wedding performance*. Diss. (Albany: State U of New York at Albany, 2001) introduction.

In Chapter Two I discuss the notion of "change over time" – a focal theme throughout this project. Examining common trends and providing a generalized description of a "typical" mock wedding helps to compare and contrast the stylistic and structural details of each performance. Three sub-chapters review the factors affecting how mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan have changed throughout the decades.

The first of the sub-chapters focuses on the notion of "origins," albeit without much of a concrete resolution. Three theories are discussed regarding the origins of the Ukrainian mock wedding phenomenon on the Canadian prairies. The first theory proposes that these mock weddings originated in folk wedding traditions in Ukraine; the second theory proposes they evolved from the practice of non-Ukrainian mock weddings across the Great Plains of Canada and the United States (themselves probable hybrids of English/Irish folk sources and stage traditions); and finally, the third theory is a combination of the first two theories and hypothesizes that the Ukrainian mock wedding tradition in Saskatchewan developed in Saskatchewan itself, by combining pre-migration elements with those found in Canada by the immigrants.

The second sub-chapter looks at the process of "individualization," whereby the tradition of practicing mock weddings shifted from a larger community practice to a more personal family-oriented practice. It is the hypothesis that much of this change was related to the "urban shift" that took place after the Second World War, when children of large, ethnic rural families moved into the city and became further integrated into the mainstreams of urban culture.

The last sub-chapter discusses the concept of "revival" – the idea that the popularity and regularity of mock weddings changed after the 1960s due to various societal and organizational structures. The function of the mock wedding changed again somewhat in this process. In some situations mock weddings came to serve explicitly as symbols of Ukrainian identity.

Chapter Three focuses on the function and meaning of mock weddings within the particular context of the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan. Eliciting connections with similar dramatic traditions and referencing much information from the interviews collected, both the peripheral sources and informant opinions help reveal the reasons behind this tradition.

Ultimately, all sources point to the recurring themes of continuity and change. As part of the conclusion, folklorist Robert Klymasz's theory regarding Ukrainian Canadian folk culture is employed. Klymasz's distinction between pioneer folk art, national art, and ethnic pop art serves as a useful tool in measuring the change over time in this study. The mock wedding complex is shown to be inextricably linked to its prairie context, thus focusing on the importance of "community," both rural and urban.

CHAPTER ONE
A Closer Look at Mock Weddings: Six Case Studies

As with many folkloric topics, mock weddings are best studied in person. Unfortunately, the bawdy nature of most mock weddings, in addition to politically incorrect dialogue and/or behavior, often gave mock weddings a negative association and resulted in little documentation of this topic. However, personal interviews with individuals who had witnessed or participated in such events offer the next best alternative to participant observation itself, which is not possible with a diachronic study such as this. The following chapter will focus on six case studies – mock wedding remembrances, each generally representative of the mock wedding trend of the decade from 1940 to the present. Accompanied with illustrative pictures, the accounts of these six mock weddings help to paint a picture of the continuing tradition of mock weddings in Saskatchewan, and they also help provide a frame of reference to the diachronic changes that took place.

Before delving into the case studies themselves, it would seem appropriate to briefly discuss the structure of the Ukrainian Canadian weddings that the mock weddings parodied. A rich Ukrainian Canadian wedding complex has taken shape over the last century in Canada.[24] Like all folk traditions, it has inherited elements from the past, which are constantly influenced by the changing cultural environment. Symbols and remnants of village traditions practiced long ago in Ukraine are often apparent, while Canadian innovations are also common. Two general descriptions will be offered, one from before 1940 and another outlining the tradition since the 1970s. The descriptions illustrate how earlier traditions were adapted in the creation of new, modified practices.[25]

---

[24] A description of Ukrainian Canadian wedding traditions can be found on the following website: <http://129.128.116.48:8890/photo_archives/pages/weddings/index.html> (Sogu Hong and Nadya Foty, authors). The website may also be found in connection with the homepage of the Ukrainian Folklore Centre: <http://www.arts.ualberta.ca/~ukrfolk.html>.

Ukrainian Canadian weddings, pre-1940

The traditional Ukrainian rural wedding can be divided into three phases: the pre-wedding phase, the wedding day, and the post-wedding phase. The following is a basic summary of this structure in the pre-1940 period, highlighting specific rituals within each of the phases which may be useful in understanding the mock weddings themselves during that time.

The pre-wedding phase initially consisted of inquiries (*dopyty*), engagement (*zaruchyny*), and agreement (*uhovoryny*). It is during this time that inquiries were made regarding a prospective bride by the *starosta*,[26] acting on behalf of the young man's family. Traditionally, the *starosta* would wear an embroidered ritual cloth (*rushnyk*) tied across one shoulder, as a distinguishing symbol for his role in the wedding. Once the request was presented to the parents of the young woman, a decision was made to either accept or refuse the offer. Most commonly the parents made this decision, but increasingly it was deferred to the young woman. If the proposal was accepted, a meeting was called for parents of both the prospective bride and groom to make arrangements and toasts would be raised in honour of the occasion. Typically, a wedding was celebrated approximately three weeks after the engagement. During this time the families of the bride and groom traveled to the nearest town to purchase items for the wedding, including fabric, lace, rings and a marriage license. Also, guests were invited by personal invitation from the bride and groom respectively. Increasingly with time, written invitations were sent for those family members who lived far away.

---

[25] Throughout the thesis there are references to various folkloric and religious beliefs regarding symbolism that are not necessarily held by many contemporary Ukrainian Canadians.

[26] A wedding official who is an important figure in the Ukrainian wedding complex. These once were in charge of actually arranging the marriage as matchmakers, but now have the role of directing all traditional rituals within the wedding celebration.

It is also during this phase that various ritual wedding props were made, each with its own ritual ceremony. Present at most of these events was an informal group of musicians, perhaps consisting of local men playing a violin (*skrypka*), a hammered dulcimer (*tsymbaly*),[27] and a bass fiddle (*bas*). One of the ritual articles was a wedding tree (*derevtse*), commonly a spruce sapling, which was cut, then ceremoniously decorated and inserted into the centre of the ceremonial wedding bread (*korovai*). Another important ritual was the wreath-weaving ceremony (*vinkopletennia*), which took place the night before the wedding. Relatives and neighbours gathered to take part in the weaving of the wreaths from periwinkle (*barvinok*) or myrtle (*mirta*) that were used the next day in rituals imparting blessings to the young couple. Especially sorrowful songs were sung at this time. Following the weaving, the *starosta* called upon the groom and his best man to buy the wreath and the bouquets from the bride. Bouquets, made earlier, usually consisted of flowers, periwinkle and long ribbons. Corsages made for the groom and groomsmen included ribbons that extended down to their waist or longer.

The wedding day commonly began with the ceremonial dressing of the bride. During this ritual the mother of the bride blessed her daughter and placed a wreath upon the bride's head. The bride's father and other family members also gave blessings, after which a veil was placed on her head. Ritual songs accompanied the ceremony. Following this, the young bride and groom (individually or in separate ceremonies) would kneel in front of their parents, bowing three times to receive their blessing (*blahoslovennia*). The bridal couple then departed for the church with their attendants (*pokhid*), either by wagon or by car.

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[27] A traditional Ukrainian instrument, commonly part of prairie wedding orchestras during this time. Brian Cherwick, "Polkas on the Prairies: Ukrainian Music and the Construction of Identity," Diss. U of Alberta, 1999, 58.

The bridal entourage traveled to the nearest town or to a rural church to have a priest marry the young couple in a church ceremony. At the end of the ceremony, the groom's attendant signed the marriage certificate as a witness. Sometimes wedding photographs were taken.

After the marriage ceremony, the bride and groom departed separately, each for their respective homes for the wedding celebrations (*vesillia*). By the 1930s and 1940s, the Ukrainian community hall had become a popular place for the joint wedding reception, rather than in family homes. Food, drink, music, and dancing entertained relatives and neighbours even before the arrival of the bride or the groom at their homes. Upon the arrival of the honoured guest, those gathered would offer toasts in celebration of the occasion. After supper, the groom and his entourage traveled to the bride's *vesillia* reception, where he was intercepted at the entrance by the bride's brother and was asked to pay a symbolic ransom for his bride, sometimes described as the "selling of the bride." Once the couple was seated together in the bride's house at the banquet table, a ceremonial presentation of gifts (*darovannia*) occurred, which commonly consisted of small household gifts or money, and often included traditional bread, other foods, or live chickens. Live chickens were given to ensure that in the very least, the new couple would have a few farm animals to start their life together. They would also be meant to "replenish the stock" of chickens used to feed all the guests during the three-day wedding celebration. This gift-giving ritual was commonly accompanied by more toasting in the couple's honour. The bride and groom then traveled to the groom's *vesillia* reception, sometimes joined by the bride's family, bridesmaids and other guests. The groom's parents also blessed the young couple, and the celebrating continued.

The post-wedding phase often consisted of more socializing (eating, drinking, singing, and dancing) at the home of the groom's parents. It was during this time that a mock wedding would have been enacted.

Ukrainian Canadian weddings, post-1970

These three phases of the Ukrainian wedding had been retained until recently. Though somewhat different from the previous description, Ukrainian Canadian weddings in the post-1970 period preserved the universal series of elements of the "traditional" wedding. This basic structure is still practiced today in Ukrainian communities. However, weddings are designed by their participants, and thus the number and form of symbolically Ukrainian traditions vary greatly from case to case. The following description includes a sampling of the possible traditions and elements that may be included in some, but not all cases.

The pre-wedding phase initially consists of dating, engagement, and arrangements. Closer to the wedding date, if the couple chooses to have a religious ceremony, the church often requires the young couple to meet several times beforehand to discuss various religious issues and become acquainted with their responsibilities in the church. The couple usually meets with the priest for these sessions and is given various reading materials to discuss about married life.

Furthermore, it is during this phase that some wedding "props" are prepared, each with it's own ritual ceremony. First, some couples choose to include a ritual wedding tree (*derevtse* or *hil'tse*), which symbolizes the tree of life and the new family tree that is being established with the coming together of two clans in marriage. This tree is decorated with ribbons, coins, pinecones, candles, flowers and berries during the wreath-weaving ceremony (*vinkopletennia*). It is carried by the best man on the wedding day and commands a place of honour next to, or sometimes in middle of, the wedding bread. The tree is later planted with the intent that it will grow and prosper, as does the couple's relationship.

Second, the *korovai* is often an important element in the wedding celebration. Though sometimes baked by female family members, most recently, specific community women are seen as specialists in making the *korovai* and are commissioned to do so for a given wedding. It is usually decorated with flowers, ribbons, periwinkle, myrtle, dough birds, or other symbols made of dough. The *korovai* is present throughout the wedding day and is used in various official capacities during the various ritual ceremonies.

The *vinkopletennia* takes place a day or two before the wedding, usually at the home of the bride. Typically, only women take active part in the ritual, commonly including the most important women in the bride's life. They gather to make the wreaths worn by the bride and groom during the wedding ceremony from periwinkle (*barvinok*) or myrtle (*mirta*), evergreen plants which symbolize ever-lasting life and love. While weaving the wreaths, the women sing specific ritual songs, which describe the events that are taking place.

Most couples choose their wedding attire to consist of a white wedding gown and a black suit or a tuxedo, though some choose to integrate Ukrainian elements into their clothing. For example, in some cases the bride wears a bridal headpiece in the shape of a *vinok* (flowered wreath). Also, embroidery on the bride's dress as well as on the groom's shirt can be incorporated as expressions of their ethnic heritage.

The ritual ceremonial blessing of the bride and groom by their parents (*blahoslovennia*) is sometimes performed before the church ceremony. The bride and groom kneel in front of their parents (sometimes on a *rushnyk*[28]) and ask them to bestow a blessing upon them for a long, healthy, happy and prosperous life together.

The Ukrainian marriage church ceremony is often full of grand and formal ritual. In the Byzantine rite tradition followed generally in Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic churches, the priest welcomes the couple in the rear vestibule of the church and blesses the wedding rings, placing them on the fingers of the bride and groom. After affirming that they are both entering this union freely and as equals, the bride and groom exchange their rings and follow the priest to the small altar for the marriage rite. During the ceremony, the *starosty*[29] or special icon bearers carry the icons of Jesus and the Mother of God that will be placed in the home of the married couple and serve as the spiritual centre of the new household. The bride and groom kneel on a *rushnyk*, place their right hands on the Gospel and exchange wedding vows. The priest places wreaths[30] or crowns[31] on the heads of the bride and groom to signify the dawn of a new kingdom to be ruled by the couple. Then the priest uses another *rushnyk* to bind the hands of the bride and groom and lead them around the small altar (*tetrapod*) three times, symbolizing the presence of God at the centre of their marriage. At the end of the marriage ceremony, the bride and groom usually share their first kiss as husband and wife.

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[28] A traditional embroidered ritual cloth, on which the bride and groom stand or kneel during the church wedding ceremony.

[29] *Starosty*, the plural form of *starosta*.

The wedding reception can occur in various places (such as the church hall, hotel or other catering facility), depending on the individual circumstances, economic ability and other factors. The parents of both the bride and groom greet the couple and their wedding party by welcoming them with bread and salt as they enter the reception hall, symbolizing the gifts of Mother Earth that they wish will be bestowed on their children. After the parents bless their children, they all share a toast, and the bride and groom toss some of the salt over their shoulders.

Musicians are an essential part of most Ukrainian weddings.[32] In Western Canada, they generally include a violinist, an accordionist, a drummer, and a *tsymbaly* player (a hammered dulcimer). Sometimes musicians play near the entrance to the hall as the guests arrive. A traditional Ukrainian wedding march is played to announce when the couple and their bridal party enter the hall.

Throughout the wedding supper, the bride and groom are encouraged to kiss by their guests, either at the sound of clinking glasses or following songs or poems about love. After supper is served, a formal program including toasts (*perepii*) is common. During this time, the Master of Ceremonies (specially chosen by the couple) introduces the bridal party and facilitates various toasts and speeches, featuring reminiscences of the young couple's history and advice on a successful married life together. The bridal couple may then ceremonially cut their wedding cake together and serve it to their guests. Shortly thereafter, the newly married couple dances their first dance, followed by an evening of open dancing for all those present. At some point during the dancing, the presentation of gifts (*darovannia*) takes place.[33] The bride and groom as well as their bridal party and parents stand in a row as all the guests line up to present the couple with their gifts and to extend their personal best wishes. For the remainder of the evening guests dance, sit at the tables with their drinks and visit. In some communities, the guests may sing Ukrainian songs when the band takes a break. Later in the evening, a "veil dance" takes place, during which the bride's veil is ceremoniously removed by her mother and replaced by a kerchief (*khustka*) by the groom's mother.[34] The bride then dances with each of the single girls present, holding her veil over their heads. It is also during this time that the bride tosses her bouquet (or a smaller version thereof) into a crowd of single girls and women gathered on the dance floor. Following this, the groom removes the bride's garter from her leg, and tosses it into a crowd of single boys and men gathered on the dance floor. It is believed that those who catch these items will have good luck and be the next to marry. After such events, the merriment usually lasts long into the night.

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[30] The same wreaths woven during the *vinkopletennia* mentioned above.

[31] The gold crowns used in a Ukrainian marriage ceremony are a symbol of the bond between the newly married couple and the glory with which God crowns them. Taken from a wedding program, Ukrainian Orthodox Cathedral of St. John in Edmonton, 2003.

[32] Cherwick, 58.

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[33] *Darovannia* may also occur following the bridal party's arrival at the reception at the beginning of the evening.

[34] This ritual is meant as a symbol of the bride making the transition from maidenhood (the veil) into womanhood (the kerchief). Married women commonly wore kerchiefs in the Ukrainian community.

The post-wedding phase is now commonly restricted to the day following the wedding, most often called *popravyny*. Close friends, relatives and out-of-town guests tend to be specifically invited to a hall or the home the following afternoon. The main focus for some is watching the bride and groom open their wedding gifts, while others take the opportunity for more eating, drinking, and socializing. It is during this time that a mock wedding may take place.

Case Study #1
Woroniuk wedding – 1946

Mary Budzak (nee Wozniak, Woroniuk) was born in 1925 on the family farm in the Melfort/Brooksby area. A retired schoolteacher, Mary now lives in Saskatoon with her second husband, Nick Budzak.[35]

In the fall of 1946, Mary Wozniak and John Woroniuk were married in Brooksby, Saskatchewan. In this case, the mock wedding occurred the day after the wedding, during the *perehostyny*[36] at the Wozniak family farm. The bride's father and the bride's aunt, who were known as the family comedians, initiated the mock wedding. It was not uncommon for the two comedians to plan something at every family gathering or holiday.[37]

The father of the bride played the mock bride. He was a small man, dressed in a white dress and a veil made of sheer curtains. He wore a *vinok* (a flowered wreath, worn as a headdress) made of dandelions on his head. Also, he carried a small bouquet of dandelions. The bride's aunt played the mock groom. She was a "short and stubby" lady, dressed in old coveralls and a shirt.

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[35] Mary Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003.

[36] Another term describing the post-wedding celebration, previously referred to as *popravyny*.

[37] "Certain individuals are said to have inherited a talent for clowning and thus are active in instigating such activities." Ingjerd Hoëm, "Clowns, Dignity and Desire: On the Relationship Between Performance, Identity and Reflexivity," *Recasting Ritual: Performance, Media, Identity*, eds. Felicia Hughes-Freeland and Mary M. Crain, (London: Routledge, 1998) 23.

There was also a mock bridal party, consisting of four bridesmaids and four groomsmen, which happened to be the same number of attendants as in the actual bridal party. The bridesmaids, who were male family members and neighbours, were dressed in old dresses. The groomsmen, who were female family members and neighbours, were dressed in old suits and each had a corsage with long ribbons. Meant to mimic the groomsmen's corsages from the previous day, the mock corsages had ribbons hanging nearly to the ground, made of old curtains.

The final character was that of *starosta* – the male leader/director in a traditional wedding. A man dressed in a suit and carrying several handkerchiefs played the mock *starosta*. This was the one character to whom the "cross-dressing" norm did not apply.

Following the lunch at the *perehostyny*, the mock wedding paraded into the yard, taking all those gathered by surprise. Led by the mock *starosta*, the entourage entered all in a row, each holding handkerchiefs between them. With the actual bride and groom seated on the veranda of the house, the mock wedding characters assembled themselves behind a table in front of the house. The first scene consisted of a mock presentation, with the characters first toasting each other in the traditional fashion. Following their lead, audience members jumped in with toasts to the mock bride and groom, concluding each toast with the saying "*dai Bozhe.*"[38] Several audience members approached the mock bride and groom bearing gifts – "*z*

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[38] A traditional Ukrainian toast, literally meaning "may God grant us".

prynosom."[39] One of the gifts received mimicked that which used to be a traditional and common wedding gift. The mock bride and groom were presented with a rooster and a hen. In this case, the animals were dressed up in ribbons and flowers on their neck and feet, "just for the fun of it."[40]

Soon after, female family members and neighbours in the audience began to sing mournful songs in Ukrainian, making all those in the mock wedding cry. They sang about the bride leaving her home, the bride having to now launder the underwear of her new husband, how the husband would soon begin to beat her and other such "comical" things.

The next scene mocked the selling of the bride by the bride's brother. In this case, the actual brother of the bride began to auction-off the mock bride (his father) to the mock groom (his aunt). The brother actually accepted money from the mock groom, with additional donations from his mock groomsmen.

Next, a mock "veil ceremony" took place, where the mock bride was sat down and the actual mother of the bride removed her veil and replaced it with a kerchief (*fustka* / *khustka*). During this parody of the ceremony, the women sang songs that had been sung at the actual veil ceremony the day before. Once this act was completed and the mock bride was officially seen as a married woman, the mock groom and his bride were led (along with the rest of the mock bridal party) by the mock *starosta* onto the dance platform. The family orchestra, consisting of a drum, violin and a mouth organ, began to play traditional melodies. At this point, the mock groom began to dance by stomping her feet and dancing the *haiduk*.[41] Soon after, audience members were free to join in the dancing. Before leaving the festivities, the mock bride and groom took the actual bride and groom to dance. The mock wedding then left the gathering, just as they came - all in a row with handkerchiefs between them. This mock wedding lasted nearly two hours.

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[39] This expression literally means "bearing gifts," which are presented to the newlyweds.
[40] Mary Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003.

Mock weddings were common both in the Brooksby (bride's family) and Sheho (groom's family) areas. Though most happened on the day after the wedding, some occurred on the afternoon of the wedding day. This particular mock wedding was improvised, though following a typical pattern common to the mock weddings in the area.

It was the impression of the bride that everyone enjoyed themselves and that offense was not taken by anyone – it was simply part of the entertainment that day. The day after the wedding was seen as a day to honour all those who helped with the wedding; it was a chance for everyone to relax, visit with loved ones, and "laugh it off." However, if someone complained that something in the mock wedding was offensive to that person, this would spawn a negative response from those gathered and humiliation would be heaped upon him. It was, therefore, best to laugh along with everyone else.

In Mary Budzak's opinion, mock weddings were entertainment for those gathered at a wedding celebration. Since most of the family members and friends were also from rural areas, their work on the land was not only their livelihood, but it also encompassed nearly every part of their lives, every day. The opportunity for organized "entertainment" within the community context was not possible on a regular basis and therefore it was viewed as something extra-ordinary, enjoyed and appreciated by most. Thus, when taking time away from work for a family or community wedding celebration, the chance for socializing and organized entertainment was readily welcomed. The informants' theory explaining the purpose of mock weddings was that this was something done purely in the spirit of fun and for entertainment in rural communities.

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[41] A squatting step figure performed by men, common to a Ukrainian *kolomyika* (circle dance). Andriy Nahachewsky, "First Existence Dance Forms Among Ukrainians in Smoky Lake, Alberta and Swan Plain, Saskatchewan." MA thesis. (U of Alberta, 1985) 85.

Case Study #2
Kozun wedding – 1951

In the summer of 1951, Jean Zwozdesky and Nick Kozun were married near Nipawin, Saskatchewan. The day after the wedding on the Kozun family farm outside of Nipawin, a mock wedding took place before the many family members and friends gathered. Given the fact that mock weddings were part of the Kozun family tradition, the event was most likely expected. Organized by the groom's family, the cast included cousins of the groom and siblings of the bride.[42]

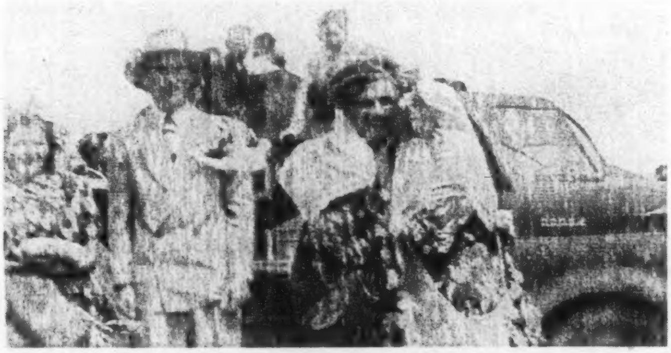

Figure 2 - The mock bride and mock groom share a kiss at the Nick and Jean Kozun mock wedding. The mock groomsman and bridesmaid stand nearby.

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[42] Irene Yurashak, personal interview, 8 April 2003.
Anne Hluchaniuk, personal interview, 10 April 2003.

The cast of characters for this particular mock wedding included a mock bride, mock groom, three mock bridesmaids, a mock groomsman and a mock priest. The mock bride, played by a male cousin of the groom, wore a dress, a curtain for a veil, and a wreath of flowers in his hair. The mock groom, also played by a male cousin of the groom, wore an old suit and a hat. The mock bridesmaids, who were sisters of the bride, were not exactly "dressed up", as they wore their own dresses. The mock groomsman, male cousin of the groom, wore his own suit, with a comical bow pinned to the side of his hat. The mock priest, played by another of the groom's male cousins, wore a shirt and suit jacket backwards.

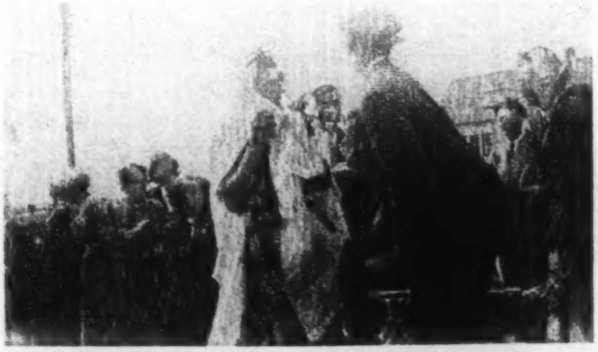

Figure 3 - The mock bride and groom arrive in the Kozun farmyard the day after the wedding. The children and adults gathered share in the shock and surprise of the event, laughing at the comical characters.

The cast of characters entered the farmyard with the mock groom pushing the mock bride in a wheelbarrow and the other actors following behind. Family musicians on violin, accordion, guitar, and *tsymbaly* were playing traditional Ukrainian melodies. A mock wedding ceremony was then enacted, led by the mock priest (who played this particular role in several family mock weddings). The mock bride and groom exchanged rings of sausage, the mock couple stood on a blanket instead of a traditional *rushnyk*, and the priest ad-libbed a list of rules for their marriage in the place of traditional vows, while holding the closest available book as a prop. The entire cast participated in the improvised dialogue, throwing in humorous comments and actions at their whim. Even though the bridesmaids were played by siblings of the bride who were not familiar with mock weddings, they quickly caught on and easily fell into their roles.

Following the mock ceremony a presentation took place. Cast members and others approached the mock couple bearing gifts and extending good wishes to them. The mock bridesmaids and groomsman each presented the bride and groom with plates of food that were later eaten. Soon after, the mock bride and groom had their "first and last dance" together as the musicians played. They also participated in the spontaneous singing that erupted, after which they made their way back out of the farmyard in the wheelbarrow. The actual bride and groom did not participate in the mock wedding, except as spectators in the audience.

From what is known in this particular situation, cousins and other family members of the groom were the ones to initiate the mock wedding, as it was considered to be a tradition in the groom's family. Given the fact that mock weddings were so common that they were perceived as "typical" and even "traditional," the contents of this performance was not personalized to the specific bridal couple, but followed a standard pattern. Although the bride's family was not entirely familiar with this custom, they quickly understood and even volunteered to participate. Everyone thoroughly enjoyed themselves and reveled in the merry-making. This particular mock wedding lasted approximately forty-five minutes.

Case Study #3
Yurashak wedding – 1963

Irene Yurashak (nee Hluchaniuk) was born on the family farm near Nipawin in 1943. Irene's mother Anne (nee Kozun) had come from a very large pioneer family of sixteen children, each of whom went on to have large families of their own. Therefore, much of the Ukrainian community around Nipawin was somehow related to the Kozun family. After growing up in the rural environment and being actively involved in the Ukrainian community there, her family moved to Saskatoon when she was twelve years old. Irene and her husband Wally raised their two daughters in the city, and remain living in Saskatoon. Irene fondly remembers her childhood on the farm, and still considers herself to be a "country girl at heart."[43]

On August 3, 1963, Irene Hluchaniuk and Wally Yurashak were married in Saskatoon, Saskatchewan. At the gift opening at the Hluchaniuk house in Saskatoon the following day, a mock wedding took place. Family and close friends were gathered early that day to continue the festivities in the yard. The groom was originally from the St. Benedict area and the bride was originally from the Nipawin area. Both the bride's and groom's families were familiar with the proceedings of the mock weddings. Shortly after the bride and groom arrived, the mock wedding cast could be seen making their way down the middle of Temperance Street.

For this particular mock wedding, the cast of characters included a mock bride, a mock groom, a best man, a bridesmaid and a priest. The mock bride, played by the bride's male cousin, wore a dress borrowed from the mother of the bride. On her head was a curtain instead of a veil, and a large, looped ribbon for a headpiece, and she wore sunglasses. The mock bride carried a bouquet of garlic, onions, weeds and rhubarb leaves. The male mock groom, also played by the bride's cousin, wore old carpentry overalls with a detachable fur hood from a parka. The best man, another male cousin of the bride, wore tall fishing boots. The bridesmaid, a female cousin of the bride, wore an old bridesmaid dress. And finally, the priest, played by yet another male cousin of the bride, wore a shirt and suit jacket backwards, in order to get the effect of a priest's collar.

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[43] Irene Yurashak, personal interview, 8 April 2003.

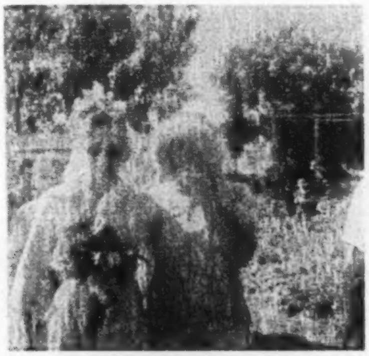

Figure 4 - The mock bride and mock groom pose for a picture. The mock bride's bouquet is strapped to her pregnant belly. Both of the characters are played by male Kozun family members.

The sequence of events parallels the mock wedding in the previous case study, as the two families are related.[44] The cast of characters entered the scene with the mock groom pushing the mock bride in a wheelbarrow and the other actors following behind. Musicians, on violin and *tsymbaly*, hired for the day's events, were playing traditional Ukrainian melodies. A mock marriage ceremony was then enacted, led by the mock priest who happened to be the same cousin as in the previous case study description. While the mock best man held a shotgun, the mock couple exchanged rings of sausage which had been carried in by the mock bridesmaid. The mock bride and groom stood on a blanket instead of a traditional cloth *rushnyk*, and the priest comprised a "Top 10" list of rules for their marriage in the place of traditional vows, holding the closest available book as a prop. The entire cast participated in the improvised dialogue, inserting humorous comments and actions without restraint. Even though most of the actors in the mock wedding had been in family mock weddings prior to this one, each performance seemed to be different from the other because of its improvisational nature.

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[44] The informant stated that most of the mock weddings in the Kozun family were similar, as the same people were usually involved. However, each mock wedding was improvised with a certain degree of individuality (dialogue, costuming, etc.).

Figure 5 - The mock couple shares a toast with family and friends following the mock wedding ceremony.

Following the mock ceremony, the mock bride and groom had their "first and last dance" together as the musicians played. They participated in the singing that erupted from the music, after which they made their way back down the street in the wheelbarrow. The actual bride and groom were part of the audience and did not participate in any other capacity.

To the best of the bride's knowledge, her cousins and other family members were the ones to initiate the organizing of the mock wedding because it was considered to be a family tradition. Despite the fact that mock weddings were always a part of every family wedding on the bride's side, she was still surprised when the characters arrived, as hers was the first family wedding to be held in the city. She had never imagined that they would attempt to stage a mock wedding in such a different environment. According to the bride, the typical family mock weddings in the Nipawin area were much grander in scale, because costumes, props and space were more readily available. There was no issue of someone becoming offended by the performance, as mock weddings were a regular occurrence at family weddings on the bride's side, and familiar, if not common, to the groom's family. Everybody thoroughly enjoyed themselves and valued the tradition. This particular mock wedding performance lasted approximately thirty minutes.

When asked about her own personal opinion on mock weddings, their purpose and chances for continued survival, the informant had many interesting insights to share. She stated that it was clear that the move from the rural to urban settings in the latest generations of her family has definitely affected the incidence of mock weddings. One of the critical factors that support such an assertion is that people now invite their guests in a different manner. Forty years ago, especially in a rural setting, it was expected that entire clans would be invited to a wedding. Most often these marriages would occur within the Ukrainian community, rarely involving a clan that was from outside of the particular group of people. The move of nearly an entire generation of rural children to urban centres and the adoption of an urban lifestyle, changed the way wedding celebrations were enacted. Moving to a more ethnically diverse environment meant having friends, neighbours and colleagues that may have not had the same cultural background, and thus were unfamiliar with Ukrainian wedding customs. As such relationships grew to be important and extended clan members less familiar, guest lists became smaller and more varied. Thus, not only did this become a more individualized event, but also those family members that could have initiated a mock wedding performance may not have even been invited. Furthermore, even if the family members who typically organized the mock weddings were invited, explanations and translations to a significant portion of the guests would now be essential.

Case Study #4
Sokyrka wedding – 1973

Sonia Sokyrka (nee Stanicki) was born in the town of Gorlitz, near Yorkton, in 1950. Being raised in an area heavily populated with Ukrainian families, Sonia was very active in many cultural extra-curricular activities. After moving to Winnipeg to attend university, Sonia returned home to marry Harold Sokyrka. Harold's father had been in the Ukrainian Orthodox seminary in Winnipeg, but his family had originally come from Ontario. After getting married, Harold and Sonia eventually settled in Moose Jaw, where their three daughters were born. In 1990, the Sokyrkas moved to Saskatoon, where they still live today.[45]

On June 23, 1973, Sonia Stanicki and Harold Sokyrka were married in Yorkton, Saskatchewan. At the gift opening at the Stanicki house in Gorlitz the following day, a surprise mock wedding took place. Approximately fifty people were gathered at this *popravlennia*,[46] consisting of the families of the bride and groom, close friends and neighbours. After lunch, following the opening of the gifts in the yard, an unexpected entourage paraded into the yard.

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[45] Sonia and Harold Sokyrka, personal interview, 11 January 2003.
[46] Another term describing the post-wedding celebration.

The cast of characters consisted of a mock bride and groom, a mock priest, two mock bridesmaids and one mock best man. The mock bride, played by the actual best man, wore an old bridal gown that was noticeably too small, and so a white tea towel was draped across the back of the gown. Old chiffon curtains were used as a veil on top of a blonde wig, and the mock bride carried a bouquet of garden flowers. The mock groom, played by the groom's aunt, wore an old suit, shirt, tie, and hat. The mock groom's hands were tied with twine, insinuating that this was a "shot-gun wedding".

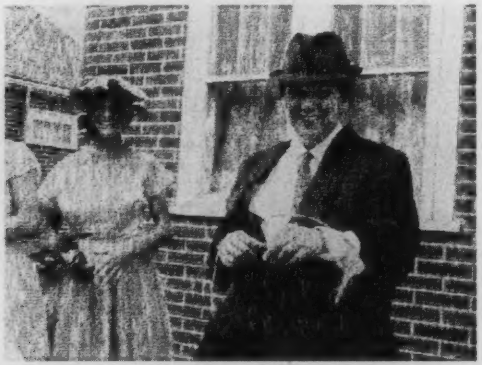

Figure 6 - The mock groom smiles for the camera, with his hands tied together with twine, implying a "shot-gun" wedding. A mock bridesmaid smiles in the background, with a rhubarb leaf on her head.

The two bridesmaids, cousin of the bride and brother of the groom (who was an actual groomsman), wore blue and yellow chiffon dresses respectively, both old bridesmaids dresses. On their heads they wore large rhubarb leaves, mimicking the hats worn by actual bridesmaids the previous day, and each carried a bouquet of weeds. The mock best man, played by a female friend of the bride and groom, wore an old suit, shirt, tie and a colourful cap. Both he and the mock groom had pillows stuffed in their shirts for bellies. Finally, the mock priest, played by a male friend of the bride and groom, wore a white collared shirt backwards so that the collar would look like the collar a priest would wear. He carried a branch for a cross and an Eatons' catalogue for a Gospel.

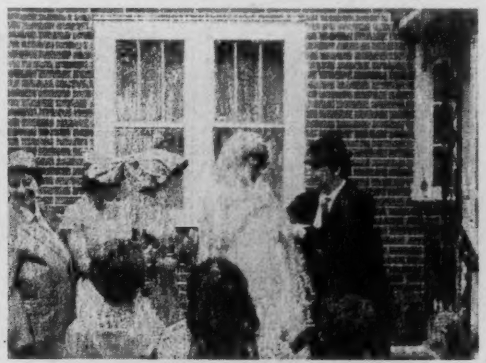

Figure 7 - The mock bridal party at the Sokyrka mock wedding assembles for a wedding portrait.

The group procession entered the yard singing religious songs which were familiar to those gathered for the celebration. They paraded around everyone and then assembled themselves where everyone could see them. Then they proceeded to parody a Ukrainian Orthodox wedding ceremony, highlighting the main rituals therein. In this case, the mock priest acted as leader of the mock wedding, initiating most of the dialogue.

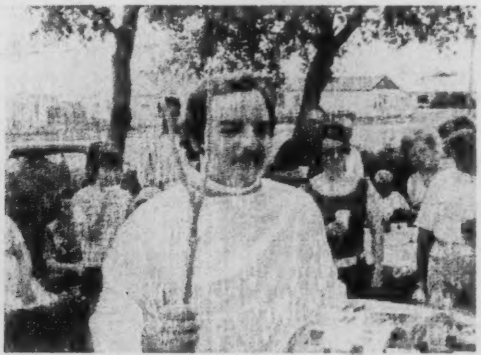

Figure 8 - The mock priest holds up his mock cross (a tree branch) and his mock gospel (an Eaton's catalogue).

Having been a theology student, the mock priest had considerable knowledge of what was actually being parodied. The couple knelt for mock vows, and had large tin cans placed on their heads in the place of crowns. The priest also blessed the mock couple with a homemade censor, made from a smaller tin can suspended by string with burning straw inside.

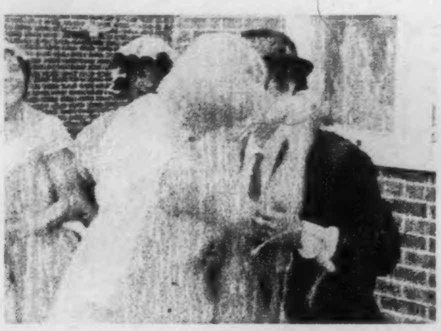

Figure 9 - The mock bride and mock groom share their first kiss as newlyweds.

At the end of the ceremony, the mock bride and groom kissed and the bride proceeded to throw her bouquet over her shoulder into the audience. Following this, the mock characters paraded out. The mock wedding lasted approximately twenty minutes.

The bride's sister-in-law, who was from the Yorkton area and who had considerable experience with such events, organized this particular mock wedding. All of the actors were from elsewhere and few had any previous knowledge regarding mock weddings, thus, the bride speculates that there must have been some preparation and briefing by the organizer beforehand.

The mock wedding itself was improvised and although it highlighted rituals in the actual church ceremony, it did not quite follow through their typical sequence. Also, the apparent similarities between the actual and mock weddings (e.g. the bridesmaids' hats and the rhubarb leaves, etc.), which could have been perceived as making fun of the events from the previous day, did not offend the young couple since they did not regard the characters in the mock wedding as a reflection of their personal selves.

When commenting on the reaction of those gathered at the *popravlennia*, even though there undoubtedly was a variety in the perception of what was being parodied, the informant felt that the general response was positive. The bride's family and guests, all from the Yorkton/Gorlitz area, were familiar with mock weddings. As the bride stated, they were quite common "back then" and were generally accepted as suitable entertainment for the day after the wedding. On the other hand, the groom's family and guests were from Ontario and had no previous exposure to, or experience with, mock weddings. After a few minutes they understood what was taking place and were able to enjoy it along with all others gathered.

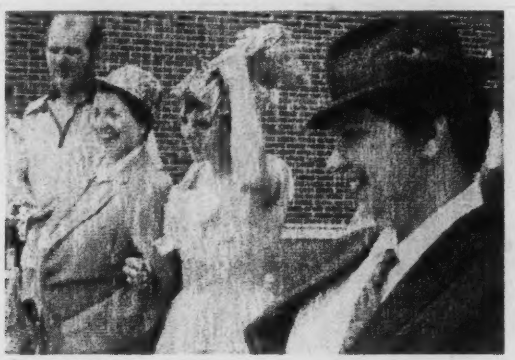

Figure 10 - Even the mock groom and two of his mock attendants are entertained by the proceedings.

Furthermore, from what the bride and groom remember, everyone was laughing and enjoying the humour. No one present reacted as if the humour presented was offensive. Even though a marriage ceremony was the main component of the mocking, the groom's father, himself a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, laughed along with everyone else. The only memory the bride and groom had of a reaction that may be considered questionable, was the response of one of the older female neighbours. She was described as a "prim and proper lady" who was laughing, but had her hand over her mouth, as if she was shocked. However, according to the bride, this neighbour was one of the women in the area who knew the old ritual songs sung at pre-wedding ceremonies and was thus invited to many weddings, and therefore, had definitely seen mock weddings before. Overall, everyone enjoyed the mock wedding and still mentions it thirty years later.

When asked about their opinion on the origin and purpose behind mock weddings, the couple's reaction was similar to those of other informants. Although she was not sure where mock weddings "came from," the bride guessed that they probably originated in Ukraine and were brought to Canada by the pioneers. Having not heard of any other ethnic groups practicing this tradition, the informant assumed that it had Ukrainian roots. As to the purpose of mock weddings, she felt that it was obvious – it was simply an opportunity for the participants in the wedding to relax, enjoy the performance and to laugh.

Case Study #5
Makowsky wedding – 1983

Joanne Makowsky (nee Hrycuik) spent her early years growing up on a family farm near Alvena. After moving to Hafford for a couple of years, the Hrycuik family moved to Saskatoon which offered many more organized cultural opportunities for their children. Taras Makowsky grew up on a family farm near Mazeppa. During the summer, Taras enjoyed attending *Camp Oselia Tryzub* at Crystal Lake. Later, Taras moved to Saskatoon to attend university, at which time he stayed at Mohyla Institute.[47] It was during their university years in Saskatoon that the two met while singing in Lastiwka Ukrainian Orthodox Youth Choir. After getting married, Taras became ordained a priest in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of Canada. Reverend Taras and Joanne lived for short periods of time in Saskatoon, Edmonton, and Dauphin. After eight years, the Makowsky's moved back to Saskatoon, where they currently live.[48]

On a warm July afternoon in 1983, Joanne Hrycuik and Taras Makowsky were married in Saskatoon. The day after the wedding at the Hrycuik house in Saskatoon, a surprise mock wedding took place. Family, close friends, and neighbours were gathered to continue the festivities in the yard. Around 1:00pm, before dinner was served, the mock bridal party appeared.

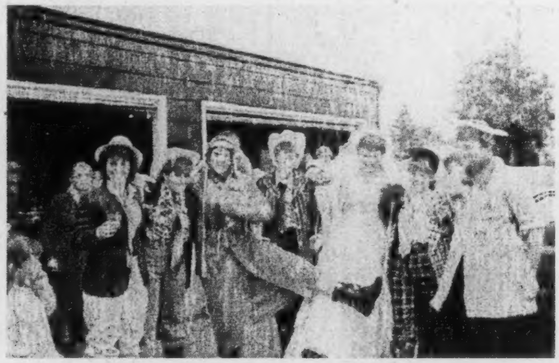

Figure 11 - Family and friends of the bride and groom comprise the cast of characters, from left to right: two mock groomsmen, a mock bridesmaid, a mock groomsman, the mock bride, the mock groom, and a mock bridesmaid.

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[47] A Ukrainian residence for university students near the University of Saskatchewan campus in Saskatoon.
[48] Reverend Taras and Joanne Makowsky, personal interview, 6 March 2003.

The cast of characters consisted of a mock bride, a mock groom, two mock bridesmaids, three mock groomsmen and a mock priest. The mock bride, played by the groom's male cousin, wore the neighbours' old wedding dress and veil, and carried a bouquet consisting of a mop head and weeds. The mock groom, played by the bride's sister, wore pants, a suit jacket, shirt, tie and hat[49] – all old and over-sized. The mock bridesmaids, brother and male cousin of the groom, wore housecoats. The mock groomsmen, played by the sister and female friend of the bride and the groom's sister-in-law, wore over-sized suit jackets and hats. The mock priest, played by a family friend of the Hrycuik's, wore a suit jacket backwards and a baseball cap, carried a Saskatoon telephone directory in lieu of the Gospel, and a tire iron instead of a cross.

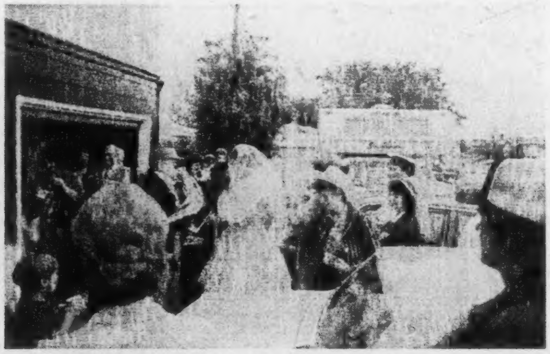

Figure 12 - As family and friends gather around the Hrycuik driveway to watch the proceedings, the mock priest reads from the Saskatoon telephone directory.

The cast had prepared themselves at a neighbour's house down the street. They proceeded to walk down the block, dressed in their costumes and make-up, to the Hrycuik house. As the entourage entered the yard, the mock priest initiated the performance, but provided ample opportunity for the other characters to join in. Upon entering the yard the cast proclaimed that they needed something to lubricate their throats ("*na horlo*"), at which time the father of the bride quickly offered them alcoholic beverages.

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[49] It is significant to note that many of the characters wore hats in the mock wedding, even throughout the parodying of the marriage ceremony. It is a custom for men to remove their hats when entering a building as a sign of respect. This is especially the case in a church, where the marriage ceremony takes place.

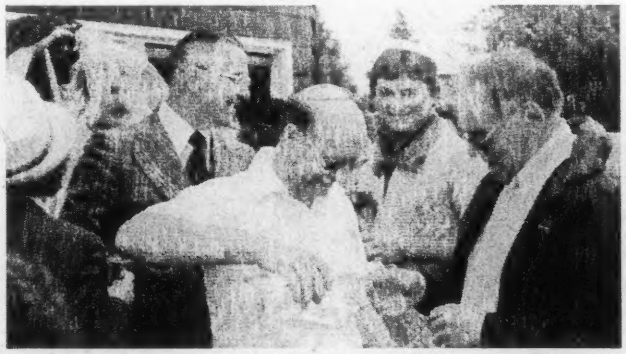

Figure 13 - The real father-of-the-bride pours the mock priest a shot of alcohol in preparation for his duties in the mock ceremony that was about to take place. The other characters wait in the background.

Following this, a short engagement ceremony took place, involving the exchange of washers instead of rings. Then, officially beginning the mock wedding ceremony, the mock priest asked if they took each other as a spouse, which invited humorous comments and responses from the other characters. A crowning ceremony followed, with hubcaps being used instead of crowns. And finally, after the ceremony, the father of the bride offered a toast to the newly married mock couple.

After the mock ceremony, the mock bride and groom danced their first dance, with the mock bride carrying the mock groom. Soon after, a receiving line was organized, which involved both the cast and members of the audience. Following a mini-reception, the cast walked back down the street to the neighbours' house.

Although they are not sure, the bride and groom suspect that the groom's sister-in-law organized this mock wedding. She had been involved in many during her stay at Mohyla Institute during the 1970s. Participation from others would have been quick, they suspect, as both their families were familiar with mock weddings. Even though the idea may have been brought up sometime before the wedding, with such an able grouping of actors from both families, they are sure that it was thrown together at the last minute and improvised as the performance went on. The bride, groom, and all those gathered (with the exception of the bride's parents, who knew something was being planned) were completely surprised by the mock wedding performance. None of the content included mocking of the specific bridal couple or their characteristics, and they simply enjoyed the show as part of the audience.

From what the bride and groom could see, everyone was laughing and having a good time and there were no adverse reactions to the mock wedding dialogue or behaviours. It was tactful and done in good taste and was socially accepted because it was not unfamiliar to anyone present. In their opinion, it was the perfect precursor to the day's activities, setting everyone at ease and getting all those gathered back in the spirit of the celebration. The mock wedding lasted approximately thirty minutes.

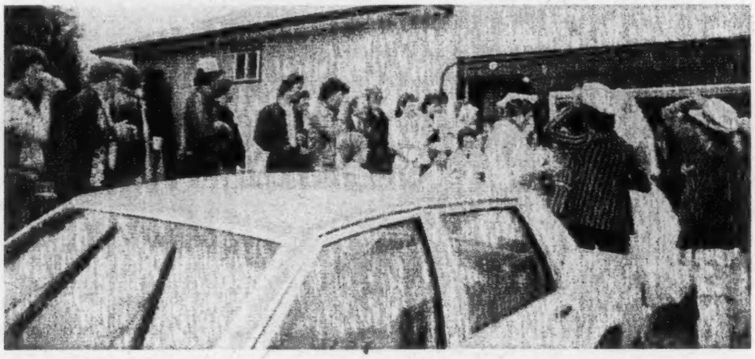

Figure 14 - As the cast of characters enact their mock wedding, laughter erupts among the surprised onlookers.

When asked about their opinion on mock weddings, Reverend Taras and Joanne had a very positive impression to share. In their estimation, mock weddings are a precursor to the activities the day after the wedding – a chance for everyone to wake up and get back in the spirit of celebration. Meant as an "ice-breaker" for all those present in the more intimate setting of the *popravyny*, mock weddings are a way to keep the party going once the edge and seriousness of the actual celebrations of the wedding day are over.

As a Ukrainian Orthodox priest, Reverend Taras sees no problem with the religious aspects that are often parodied in a mock wedding. In his opinion, the gender/role reversal already clearly demonstrates that what is about to take place is not serious and is meant as a joke. Secondly, rarely are sacred objects or actual religious passages from the wedding ceremony ever used. Thirdly, as long as what is portrayed is done as tastefully and tactfully as possible, the "line" is seldom crossed. Both he and his wife believe that it was much easier to define the "fine line" thirty years ago, given the laid-back, easy-going nature of rural communities. Most of the time the crossing of the good taste and propriety line did not become a problem.

Furthermore, according to Reverend Taras, such an event truly emphasizes the meaning of the name for the day after the wedding, "*popravynnia*" – to mend, to correct; to put in order; to improve, to better.[50] After all, life is not serious all of the time. When asked if the Makowskys would like to see mock weddings done for their children someday, they agreed that even though these were part of a "wild tangent of the wedding customs," they want their children to know about them so they, at the very least, have an opportunity to decide for themselves.

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[50] From the verb *popravyty*, as cited in the *Ukrainian-English Dictionary*, compiled by C. H. Andrusyshyn and J.N. Krett (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955) 800.

Case Study #6
Thachuk wedding – 1992

Julianna Blush and Cameron Thachuk were both raised in Saskatoon, where each were actively involved in the Ukrainian Catholic community. They were both members of the Vesna Choir, and Julianna played with and directed the Vesna Bandurysty for several years.[51]

On a warm July afternoon, Julianna Blush and Cameron Thachuk were married at St. George's Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Saskatoon. The next day, at the gift opening in St. George's Youth Centre, a surprise mock wedding took place. Approximately one hundred people were gathered, consisting of family members and close friends. Organized secretly by the friends of the bride and groom, the cast of the mock wedding arrived mid-afternoon, following the lunch, the gift opening and some dancing.

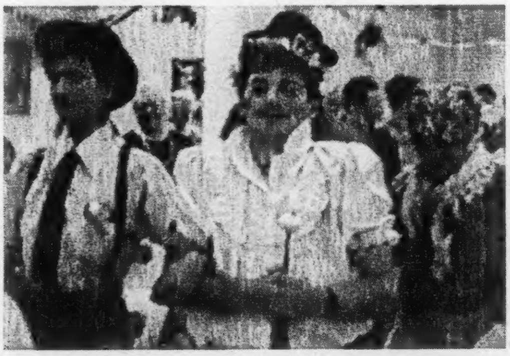

Figure 15 - The mock bridesmaid and groomsman make their entrance for the Thachuk mock wedding. The mock bridesmaid hold an onion "bouquet."

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[51] Julie Thachuk, personal interview, 4 January 2003.

The characters made their entrance to the Latin song "Lambada," a popular song that summer.[52] The mock cast included a bride, groom, mother and father of the bride, a bridesmaid (*druzhka*), a groomsman (*druzhba*), and a *starosta*. The mock bride, played by a male friend of the couple, wore a woman's blouse, a white slip with embroidered trim (used most commonly as part of a Ukrainian dancing costume), old lace curtains for a veil, high heel shoes, a wig, earrings, and carried a bouquet of leaves and dead roses. The mock groom, played by a female friend of the couple, wore culotte pants, a plaid "lumberjack" shirt, a vest, tie, a hat with long blades of grass stuck in it, a fake moustache and wore a "mono-brow." The mock mother-of-the-bride, played by a female friend of the couple, wore a flowered kerchief on her head, a blouse and long skirt, which was stuffed with a pillow for a large rear-end. The mock father-of-the-bride, played by a male friend of the couple, wore a suit jacket, shorts, and top hat. The *druzhka*, played by a male friend of the couple, was meant to be the mock groom's sister. He wore a white woman's blouse, a flowered skirt (worn typically as part of the Ukrainian dancing costume), and a *vinok* with ribbons on his head. The *druzhba*, played by a female friend of the couple, wore old pants with suspenders, a shirt and tie, a hat with large pieces of dill weed sticking from it, and a dead flower corsage. And finally, the *starosta*, played by a male friend of the couple, wore a suit jacket, shorts and a bath towel slung over his shoulder.

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[52] It is significant to note that this song is most commonly accompanied by a very sexually explicit dance style. In contrast with the other elements of the dancing tradition at a wedding, this could be considered scandalous.

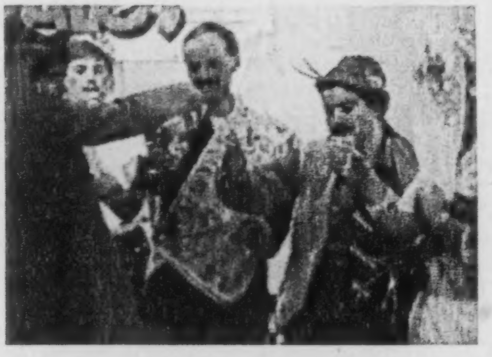

Figure 16 - Cast members share a toast in the Thachuk mock wedding. From left to right: the *druzhba*, the *druzhka*, the *starosta* and the mock couple.

As the procession assembled in front of the actual stage in the hall, all the people were gathered in front of them in audience formation, with the actual bride and groom seated in the front row. The *starosta* proclaimed "and now – we drink!" at which time the entire cast drank a shot of alcohol. This action was repeated several times throughout the mock wedding. Following every shot, the cast of characters would stomp one foot and the mock groom would sniff under his arm.

The first character to speak was the *druzhka*. She approached the microphone (which had been set up for the musicians who were playing at the gift opening) and began to toast her brother and new sister-in-law, crying and sharing stories of their youth together. During this time, the mock groom also began to cry, wiping his eyes and blowing his nose into his tie. The *starosta* then proclaimed "and now – we dance!" at which point the entire cast began to dance to the "Lambada" song, pulling in audience members, including the actual bride and groom. Another shot was shared, the dancing resumed, this time including the parents and grandparents of the bride and groom.

After yet another shot, the *starosta* called for all the young, eligible women to gather on the dance floor for the bouquet toss. The mock bride then tossed her bouquet of leaves and dead roses into the crowd. At that point, the *starosta* called for all eligible men to assemble on the dance floor, at which time the mock bride put her leg up on a chair, and the mock groom preceded to remove the garter (bandana) from her leg with his teeth.

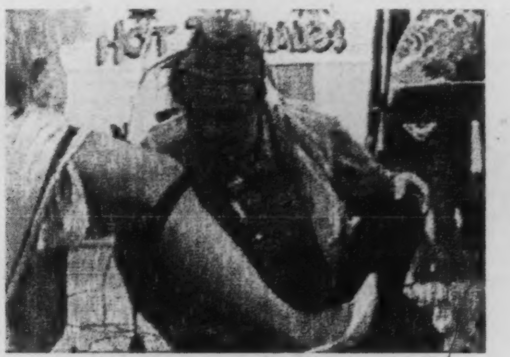

Figure 17 - The mock groom removes the bride's bandana "garter" with his teeth during the Thachuk mock wedding.

This bandana was tossed into the crowd of young single men to the sounds of the song "Striptease." Following another shot, the "Lambada" song was played again, during which time a chair was placed in the middle of the dance floor. The mock groom sat on the chair and the mock bride sat on his lap. The mock mother-of-the-bride then removed the mock bride's veil and tied a flowered kerchief around her head, crying and lamenting the entire time.

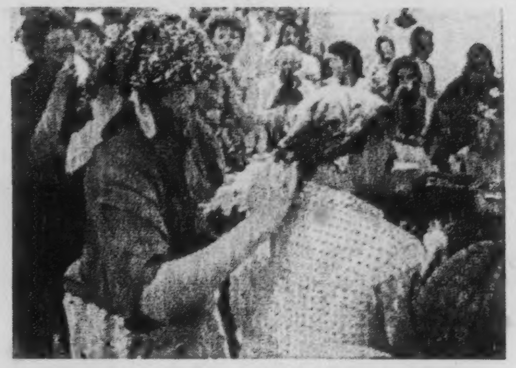

Figure 18 - The mock mother-of-the-bride "ceremoniously" tied a kerchief around the mock bride's head after removing the veil.

Following this, the "veil dance" was parodied, where the mock bride danced with male audience members, holding the veil over each of their heads and sending them off with a big kiss on the cheek, leaving behind an imprint of large red lips. In between partners, the mock bride would re-apply her lipstick in a garish manner.

Then, the mock bride and mock groom had a chance to approach the microphone to thank those gathered for their mock wedding. Addressing the audience partly in Ukrainian and partly in English, everything was said with a thick, exaggerated Ukrainian accent. The mock groom did most of the speaking, stating that the mock bride did not speak English. In closing, the cast of characters left in the same manner, in which they arrived, dancing to the "Lambada" song, as everyone clapped and cheered.

Considering the fact that this mock wedding was a surprise to all those gathered, the bride does not know if one person in particular organized it, as all the friends involved had taken part in such events before. The bride guesses that based on previous events, a few of the cast members may have begun talking about the scenario and costumes a few weeks prior to the wedding. However, the action and dialogue within the mock wedding was spontaneous.

This particular mock wedding parodied the reception portion of a Ukrainian wedding, rather than the ceremony, highlighting several traditions common to a Ukrainian wedding reception, such as the toasting (*perepii*), the veil dance and the covering of the bride's head.

When questioned about the general mood of the audience during the mock wedding, the bride was undoubtedly convinced that everyone at the gift opening thoroughly enjoyed themselves and did not take any offense to any of the behavior or dialogue. This feeling is definitely captured in the video-taped footage of the mock wedding; as the camera panned across the audience, everyone was laughing, many almost to the point of tears. The bride speculated that the concept of mock weddings was probably more familiar to some people than it was to others, however everyone seemed to have caught on quickly.

A highlight of the mock wedding for the bride herself, was the initial surprise of seeing her friends dressed up and then watching the reaction of all those present. Although some of the dialogue (toasts, etc.) included a few personalized comments that could have offended the young couple, the bride and groom enjoyed themselves thoroughly and insist that so much fun was had that people still talk about it today. This particular mock wedding lasted approximately twenty minutes.

When asked about what the possible meaning could be behind mock weddings, the bride stated that is most likely just a way for family and friends to laugh, have some fun, and relax after a busy weekend.

The remembrances discussed in this chapter are vivid accounts of the mock wedding experience. Spanning six decades during which the outside world changed drastically, the case studies presented a continuum of activity reflecting both continuity and change. Among these examples many of the varied activities were highlighted, providing a representation of what will be discussed and analyzed in the subsequent chapters.

CHAPTER TWO
Change Over Time: Origins, Individualization, and Revival

A logical progression with any folkloric topic is to examine how the traditions studied have been maintained/changed over time. It is by this measure that the similarities and differences become apparent. Trends and common elements have emerged within this project. However, to be able to discuss them properly, the strands connecting each to the other must also be uncovered.

A chart comparing various details of the mock weddings collected is supplied as Appendix C to this study. This comparative chart includes each of the mock wedding remembrances collected. The columns of the chart deal with a number of specific topics: salient biographical information of each mock wedding remembrance (who, when, where, etc.), costuming and prop details of each of the characters, structural elements of the mock wedding performances, the context in which the performance took place, and the subjective impressions of the informant. Each remembrance is then listed in a separate row and appropriate categories are checked off, providing a systematic way to scan the interview information and search it for common trends or elements in the particular Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan.

The chart supplied as Appendix D lists other comparable forms of folk drama as potential connections to the mock wedding complex being studied. The entries are both historical and contemporary, including dramatic genres from various contexts. The categories which appear in the previous appendix are listed in columns, and are again checked off, making it more apparent which entries may have possibly influenced the tradition of mock weddings in the particular context under study.

The following description will attempt to illuminate the most common features of Ukrainian mock weddings in Saskatchewan from the 1940s to the present day. Covering both characterization and structure, certain specific components have remained largely unchanged through the decades. The description is largely based on the commonalities apparent within the comparative chart in Appendix C. It is an abstraction and a generalization; a point of reference, a yardstick, by which to measure the entire collection.

Most commonly, the mock wedding occurred in the context of an actual marriage, the day after the wedding, during the post-wedding celebration or gift opening (*popravyny*). This often took place at one of the family homes or farms, or at a hall. Usually planned and performed by the friends and family of the bride and/or the groom, the entourage paraded in to the gathering, often lead by musicians. It was not uncommon in the earlier part of the century for some members of the cast of characters to arrive by wheelbarrow, buggy or an old car. An element of surprise was often key to the beginning of the mock wedding. Once the initial shock had worn off and the laughter had died down, the cast began with their performance, by parodying the wedding ceremonies. Particularly in later years this included a parody of the marriage ceremony in the church. Sometimes, there were humorous vows of some sort, "rings" of Ukrainian garlic sausage (*kovbasa*), and unusual crowns for the couple's heads. Following the first official kiss of the married couple, a first dance took place. Dancing might continue and include brave audience members or the actual bridal couple, or the participants began toasting the mock bride and groom. Performers and members of the audience alike approached the mock couple, and often with actual beverages in hand, they would proclaim or sing their well wishes for the "newlyweds'" life together. At this point, gag gifts were presented to the mock couple. Dancing and singing continued, accentuated with humorous banter among the performers or between them and the audience members. The mock wedding party then exited the scene, often by the same mode in which they arrived, changed into their "civilian" clothes and re-joined the continuing celebration.

The cast of characters in the drama was quite consistent throughout the decades and within the different locales in which the mock weddings took place. The performers "act[ed] in opposition"[53] to the normal everyday behaviour that was expected of them. If nothing else, the mock wedding consisted of a bride and groom.[54] The bride was usually a bigger man, often with obvious facial hair, who donned a white dress or an actual old bridal gown.[55] Most of the time, the bride wore a veil of lace tablecloth or curtains, and carried a bouquet made of either vegetables, weeds, or rhubarb leaves. Other embellishments included artificial breasts, buttocks, wigs, make-up and jewelry. Such details may seem somewhat obscure, yet it is interesting that such articles were obviously "normal" household items that could be found in any farmhouse on short notice. Not only was the bride's headdress of a lace tablecloth or curtains common to the mock weddings in this particular study, but it is also mentioned in articles by Michael Taft and

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[53] Greenhill (1988) 189.

[54] Alice Prociuk, personal interview, 9 March 2003.

[55] The traditional white bridal wedding garment was common in actual weddings as early as the 1920s. Prior to that in the Ukrainian Canadian community, the bride often wore ornate and colourful clothing from the Old Country.

Pauline Greenhill, in the *Tom Thumb* script from the early part of the century, and is part of the costuming for the Mandryk wedding in Terebowlia, Ukraine (all of which will be discussed below).

Similarly, the mock groom's costume also shows a clear pattern. The mock groom was usually a petite woman who wore old clothing, a hat or cap and, frequently, a traditional ribbon corsage. He often possessed painted-on facial hair, a pillow for a belly and sometimes a wig. In the majority of the mock weddings documented, the mock groom is dressed not only in old clothing, but more specifically in men's overalls (or "coveralls," as some informants called them). This detail seems to be logical given the rural context that the mock weddings were often set in and the familiarity of the coveralls as a garment in that context.

If the cast of characters were more substantial, the list included one or more bridesmaids and groomsmen, a priest, parents of the couple, and sometimes a *starosta* character. The bridesmaids, also larger men, would often wear clothing to parody the special dresses of the actual bridesmaids. They would carry bouquets of weeds or vegetables, similar to that of the bride. Furthermore, they would also be "made-up" to exaggerate cliché features of bridesmaids with make-up and jewelry. Groomsmen were usually also petite women who were dressed in old suits and hats. They, too, wore painted-on facial hair and would often have extra "padding" around their middle.

The priest, in most of the recent examples, was the only character where gender reversal did not take place. Ironically, the marriage ceremony became popular within the mock wedding in the second half of the century, and yet, likely as a result of "political correctness," the gender of the priest's character was not tampered with. In the Ukrainian mock weddings in Saskatchewan, the priest was often the leader or Master of Ceremonies, initiating dialogue and commentary. The priest usually wore black, often with a dress shirt backwards so that there would be a visible collar at his neck. The priest carried objects that parodied liturgical objects – a cross, Gospel, censor, holy water.

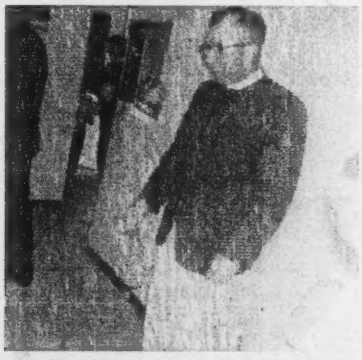

Figure 19 - The mock priest at a Kozun family mock wedding near Nipawin, 1960. He wears a black shirt, black suit jacket, and white paper collar. He holds a small wicker basket with rope tied around it for a censor.

Similar evidence of the priest's "extra-ordinary" (or rather, ordinary) role was found in the mock weddings collected in Anglo Canada[56] by folklorist Pauline Greenhill:

> It is clear that at least one character in most mock weddings represents a social Other…and that is the pivotal role of the minister or priest. He is not a cross-dressed comic figure as the wedding party are, and in many examples of the play his speech is overly elaborated and pompous.[57]

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[56] Greenhill is referring to English-speaking Canadians, specifically in Ontario.
[57] Greenhill (1988) 197.

The tradition of toasting the newlyweds, which is prominent at a traditional Ukrainian wedding, has continued to be important in the mock wedding. In all but three of the mock weddings collected for this study, toasting the mock couple was incorporated in some fashion. This tradition often went hand-in-hand with the presentation (*darovannia*), where wedding guests approached the couple and presented them with gifts and well wishes. This tradition held the same significance in the mock wedding as in the actual wedding, and remained strong no matter the period or the context in which it was practiced.

Similarly, the notion of the first dance and the importance of singing translated clearly into the mock wedding. Both were included in the majority of the cases. The first dance, usually shared by the mock bride and mock groom alone, occurred directly following the marriage ceremony (if one was included) or soon following the arrival of the group. The first dance, of course, was played by the musicians and performed by the cast. Sometimes, the cast sang a popular folk song at this time, or one created specially for the occasion with funny lyrics. The singing could continue after the first dance, during the toasting, the presentation, or whatever component followed.

The idea of audience participation has been an important aspect of the mock wedding. The guests gathered the day after the wedding often know the actual bridal couple best and can easily jump in to insert witty or comical dialogue when called upon by the cast, or to even simply respond to the dialogue in an interactive, fun way. Though audience participation was common, only in rare instances did the true bridal couple participate. In later years, they were dragged into the performance for dancing, etc. The mock wedding most commonly lasted for about half an hour, unless there was a great deal of audience participation and commentary.

In all of the cases, the mock weddings involved an element of surprise both for the bride and groom and for the guests gathered the next day. Furthermore, the performances were quite improvised; in fact, the notion of a "scripted" mock wedding seemed strange to many of the informants. Also, no matter what the mode of "transportation," the cast was most often accompanied by two or more musicians, which did not change according to context or date.

Perhaps the strongest similarity among the mock weddings collected is not the objective criteria, but rather the subjective impressions. All of the interviewees agreed that the general meaning or purpose behind staging the mock wedding was for the fun of it, with the entertainment aspect being most important. It gave a chance for everyone gathered to relax and have a few laughs.

Conversely, there are a few elements of mock weddings that have changed over the years. In regards to costuming, only in a few of the most recent mock weddings, where "symbolic Ukrainianism"[58] became a focus, was old clothing replaced with Ukrainian national costume pieces.

Furthermore, the trend of the actual bridal couple being called to participate is one that has arisen only in recent years. Earlier on, the couple did not participate in any way, and often was not even present.[59] In recent years, though, as the day after the wedding has truly become a time for "gift opening," the bride and groom are present, do witness the mock wedding and often are pulled into the dancing portion as a part of the entertainment.

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[58] This term refers to overt, national symbols used to communicate ethnic identity and national consciousness.

[59] In some cases, especially in rural areas, the bride and groom would be on their way elsewhere (to either the groom's or bride's parents' farm) on the day after the wedding, which could have required several days traveling time.

Change is also evident in the way the mock cast enters and exits the performing area. In the earlier mock weddings, one popular mode of transportation for the cast was via wheelbarrow. Perhaps this prop was meant to mock and parody the new, possibly financially un-stable marriage, implying that the newlyweds could not even afford a proper buggy.[60] The Hluchaniuk-Yurashak wedding of 1963 was the last time a wheelbarrow was used as a prop in the mock weddings that have been documented. From this point on, the mock party paraded in and out on foot, in most cases. Perhaps the simple logic that a wheelbarrow was much more accessible on a farm rather than in the city provides the reason for this change in practice.

Finally, the location of the mock wedding, be it either indoors or outdoors, is an aspect that has changed throughout the years. Again, it is evident that the setting, either rural or urban, has directly influenced the issue of location. Only the most recent mock weddings have been located indoors, either in a hall or house. Whereas the rural weddings had plenty of space at their disposal to host guests the day of and after the wedding, urban weddings, which often take place in a hall or hotel, are limited by the amount of outdoor space nearby, and thus the activities often remain indoors for this reason. In general, contemporary urban people are used to doing most everything inside. Considering that the majority of the wedding day is often spent indoors, it is not surprising that this is where the post-wedding phase also takes place.

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[60] Similar evidence is found in the examples of *tsyhanshchyna* in central Ukraine even today. Natalie Kononenko, *Traditional Ukrainian Wedding Rituals*, Ukraine and Ukrainian Arts and Culture at BRAMA, 22 October 2002 <http://www.brama.com/art/wedding2.html>

In addition to the changes that took place with the passage of time, local variations of mock weddings developed within the various Ukrainian communities. Outside of the Ukrainian community, local context also plays an important role:

> There is no original or correct single mock wedding text, as a genre, in a region, or even within one family. The texts are based upon traditional prototypes known from the family or community.[61]

Whether the mock wedding was structured and scripted or improvised, there were certain local traditions that were evident. For example, in the 1940s, it was uncommon for there to be parodies of the marriage ceremony in the St. Julien area. The only deviation would occur if there was an exceptionally strong tradition in a particular family, then it is possible that the structure would differ slightly.

Similarly, in the Smutts/Alvena area, it was considered common for all mock weddings to follow the same sequence of events. Usually, there was no mock wedding parody of the marriage ceremony; only in a few of the later cases were mock vows briefly exchanged. However, in the four mock wedding remembrances collected from this area, each included toasting of the mock couple, a presentation (often including live chickens), and the mock couple's first dance. Furthermore, in three of the four mock weddings studied from this area, the actual bride and groom were invited to join in the dancing, which according to informants was "normal." The four mock weddings were performed in three different family settings, thereby supporting the notion of localized structure.

In summary, the phenomenon of mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan has a history which illustrates both continuity and change throughout the eight decades. Some aesthetic (characterization, costuming) and some structural elements (sequence of events, specific rituals parodied) remain constant, while others change over time. The move from a rural to an urban setting in the 1950s is a definite factor, as well as the specific localization of the customs.

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[61] Greenhill (1988) 183.

The discussion of change over time will be elaborated by exploring three specific aspects of the history of mock weddings. In the next sub-chapter, I will explore several theories for the origins of this tradition. Secondly, I will look more closely at the notion of the "urban shift" and the subsequent move from the mock wedding as a community activity, to one that is more individualized. And finally, the issue of ethnic revival is relevant. The tradition of mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan has changed shape within the last several decades, and in some cases, it has changed functions as well.

Origins

The origins of the mock weddings examined in this study are not clear.[62] As inconclusive as the origin of mock weddings appears to one researching the topic, the answer is obvious and straightforward to the informants. Many insist that it was a tradition "brought over from the Old Country,"[63] and that "it was from way back."[64] Furthermore, the majority of the informants were confident in the fact that mock weddings were not practiced in any other ethnic community. This sub-chapter will focus on three possible theories as to the origins of the mock wedding complex: Ukrainian folk wedding traditions, Canadian influences such as the mock weddings found on the Great Plains, and a mixture of the two, which is largely the result of regional culture.

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[62] see also Greenhill (1988) 178.
[63] Sonia Sokyrka, personal interview, 11 January 2003.
[64] Alice Prociuk, personal interview, 9 March 2003.

Given the informants' perspectives, then, one might expect nineteenth and twentieth century descriptions of weddings in Ukraine to include passages detailing mock weddings. In fact, however, this is not the case. Some Ukrainian ethnological sources make no mention of any such activity; others include brief descriptions of events similar to mock weddings, sometimes called *tsyhanshchyna*. Other forms of "comical costumed episodes"[65] existed in the folk merriment at weddings and bear only a superficial resemblance to mock weddings. Each of these examples will be discussed below.[66]

Before attempting to examine this connection, it is important for the reader to become better acquainted with the actual traditional wedding in Ukraine. The following description is a generalized version of a typical wedding in nineteenth century rural Ukraine.[67] It involved, with some regional variations to the structure, a series of universal complex ceremonies that served many different functions. A traditional Ukrainian wedding consisted of three phases: the pre-wedding phase, the wedding day and the post-wedding phase. The entire complex from the initial planning stages to the final day of merriment lasted several days.

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[65] This term can be applied to describe the various other *tsyhanshchyna*-like forms encountered in Ukraine.
[66] These sources are listed in the top half of the comparative chart in Appendix D.
[67] A description of a traditional wedding in Ukraine can be found in *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia* (1963) 335-8.

19th Century folk wedding tradition in Ukraine

The pre-wedding phase involved several specific rituals meant to ensure a viable, long-lasting union. Prior to considering the marriage proposal, the parents of the young man checked the suitability of the girl's family by making formal inquiries about them. These formalities (*dopyty*) usually involved representatives of the groom's family who traveled to the bride's home to also determine whether she and her parents were likely to accept the marriage proposal. If the inquiries had positive results, matchmaking (*svatannia*) occurred, during which a ritual dialogue ensued between the groom's matchmakers (*starosty*) and the bride's parents. At this point, the marriage proposal was either accepted or refused. If the proposal was accepted, an inspection of the groom's "situation" was conducted by the bride's family (*ohliadyny*). This was followed by an elaborate betrothal ceremony (*zaruchyny*) during which the young couple was blessed with bread and salt. Subsequent preparations included negotiations between the two families about a dowry (*vino*), and the property which would be gifted to the new household. Invitations (*zaprosyny*) to the wedding were extended personally by the bride and groom who visited the houses of all guests for this purpose. During a maiden's evening (*divych vechir*) the bride-to-be bade farewell to her maiden friends. This evening was sometimes combined with a ritual wreath-weaving ceremony (*vinkopletennia*) during which wreaths were woven for the bride and groom to wear on the wedding day. Important ritual objects such as a ritual wedding tree (*derevtse* or *hil'tse*) and a ritual wedding bread (*korovai*) were also prepared.

Once all of the preparations were complete, the elaborate wedding day ceremonies commenced. Firstly, the bride's hair was unbraided in the *rozpletyny* ceremony. Once the bride was dressed and ready for the wedding, the groom arrived and the young couple was ceremoniously blessed by the parents (*blahoslovennia*). The couple and their entourage then proceeded to the church led by musicians. At the church, the bride and groom entered together, to begin the elaborate church marriage ceremony (*vinchannia*). The church marriage ceremony, similar to the ceremony performed in recent times discussed previously, included vows, the crowning of the young couple, and the ceremonial walk around the *tetrapod*.

From the church, the bride and groom each returned to their respective homes. Separate wedding receptions (*vesillia*) took place at both the bride's and the groom's homes. After the meal, the toasting, dancing, singing and celebrating commenced. In the evening, accompanied by his best man, groomsmen and other attendants, the groom traveled to the *vesillia* at the bride's house. At the gate they were challenged by the young men of the bride's family who barred the groom's way and demanded that he pay ransom for his bride. Once admitted, he sat with his bride in a place of honour, while various ceremonies were performed and their families exchanged gifts.

The distribution of the wedding bread (*korovai*) took place next. Cut up into small pieces, it was passed around to all those present as a symbol of the community's sanction of the couple's union. In a special ceremony, the bride's wedding headpiece was removed and replaced with a kerchief. This act symbolically represented her transition from maidenhood into the community of married women. Later, the couple departed for the groom's home, taking her dowry and belongings with them. There they were greeted at the gate and blessed by the groom's parents. Following this ceremony, the celebration at the groom's house intensified, another meal was served, and the guests celebrated while toasting, singing, and dancing.

After the supper, the *vesillia* ended with the rite of *komora*, where the nuptial bed for the young couple was prepared on straw and covered with a sheepskin coat. While the bride and groom spent their first night together, the remaining guests continued celebrating with music, food, drinking and dancing until the morning.

The post-wedding phase included a celebration the next day hosted by the groom's family (*perezva*), where guests continued to celebrate. The groom's family then honoured the bride's family by inviting them to join in the festivities. Sometimes they tried to humorously deceive the bride's family by presenting a mock bride, played by an older woman or a man. The bride's family would exclaim that she is not theirs and a jovial debate would arise, challenging each family's reputation and status. Finally, the real bride would appear and greet everyone.

As the wedding celebrations continued, the family and friends performed the ritual of *tsyhanshchyna* – "the visitation of houses [by people] dressed as gypsies and others, begging for various items."[68] Other terms used in reference to such activities in Ukraine are *tsyhany* or *kury*. The first two terms come from the word *tsyhan*, meaning "gypsy." Historically, gypsies were known to go around stealing food from villagers, generally causing mayhem wherever they went. *Kury* literally means "chickens," the term possibly being derived from the fact that sometimes chickens were stolen from the villagers as part of the act.

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[68] My translation of the definition offered by *Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy* [*Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language*] p.210.

In Ukrainian ethnographic literature, the closest wedding tradition to mock weddings is that of *tsyhanshchyna*. The most comprehensive and fundamental ethnographic publications presenting early rituals include Khvedir Vovk's *Studii z ukrainskoi etnohrafii ta antropolohii* [*Studies of Ukrainian ethnography and anthropology*] (1926) and Volodymyr Shukhevych's *Hutsul'shchyna* [*the Hutsul Region*] (1902). They do not mention any appearance of masked or costumed characters during the wedding complex.[69]

Among other ethnographic sources consulted, references to "comical costumed episodes" were found in the following: Valentyna Borysenko's *Vesil'ni zvychaii ta obriady na Ukraiini* [*Wedding traditions and rituals in Ukraine*] (1988) mentions masked characters who dance in the post-wedding celebrations[70]; Hnat Tantsiura's *Vesillia v seli Ziatkivtsiakh* [*A wedding in the village of Ziatkivtsi*] (1998) describes a pantomime wedding game with costumed performers who dance to music[71]; and Oleksandra Kondratovych's *Vesillia na Polissi* [*Weddings in the Polissia Region*] (1996) which includes primary fieldwork, refers to a group of cross-dressed characters who performed comedic scenes for entertainment purposes:

> *Iduchy zustrichaty rodynu molodoi, khloptsi, choloviky perevdiahaiutsia v Tsyhana, Dida, Babu. Tsyhan imituie kovalia, briazhyt' zalizom, 'torhuie' hotovymy vurobamy, bere zamovlennia, Did z Baboiu rozihruiut' rizni kumedni stsenky iz cimeinoho zhyttia.*
>
> On the way to greet the bride's family, boys and men dress as a Gypsy, an Old Man and an Old Woman. The Gypsy

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[69] These are also not mentioned in another pertinent ethnographic source on wedding rituals in the region of Boikivshchyna in Western Ukraine. Ostap Mysevych *Ukrains'kyi vesil'nyi obriad u Boikivshchyni* [*Ukrainian wedding ritual in Boikivshchyna*] (1937).

[70] Valentyna K. Borysenko, *Vesil'ni zvychai ta obriady na Ukraini: istoryko-etnohrafichne doslidzhennia* (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1988) 145.

[71] Hnat Tantsiura, *Vesillia v seli Ziatkivtsiakh* (Kyiv: Redaktsiia chasopysu "Narodoznavstvo", 1998) 298-9.

> imitates a blacksmith, clanging his ironware, bartering and taking orders for his products. The Old Man and Old Woman play out various comedic scenes depicting family life.[72]

Furthermore, in *Vesillia u dvokh knyhakh* [*The Wedding: in two books*] (1970) O. A. Pravdiuk and M. H. Kyianytsia briefly refer to costumed and masked characters who entertained in the post-wedding phase in the village of Dudarykiv in Central Ukraine in 1967:

> *U seredu chasom tsyhaniat'- zbyraiut'sia rodychi, khodiat' po dvorakh, kradut' salo, kurei, hotuiut' vecheriu, huliaiut'...*
>
> On Wednesday, people often perform *tsyhanshchyna* – relatives get together, go from house to house, steal bacon,[73] chickens, prepare supper, and fool around...[74]

There is also literary evidence to suggest that *tsyhanshchyna* was practiced as recently as the first half of the twentieth century in Central Ukraine. In the novel *Katryne vesillia* [*Katrya's wedding*] (1933) by Hnat Khotkevych, there is an interesting description of the *tsyhanshchyna* ritual which took place on the second day of the wedding:

> *Scho vono take? I tsyhany, i tsyhanky, i korchmari, soldaty, vedmedi iakis' u vyvernutykh kozhukhakh... U koho nema v shcho vbratysia, to khoch pyku sobi vymazav sazhoiu. Krychat', vereshchat', b'iut' u skovorodky, u porozhni vidra. Zhinky poodiahalysia muzhykamy, a muzhyky – babamy, holovy namitkamy pozapynaly – ne mozhna bez smikhu dyvytysia na borodate lytse pid namitkoiu. Odyn diad'ko z kapshukom ta dzvonykom, ioho zhinky velychaiut' 'tserkovnym starostoiu'... Kolo n'oho 'starshyi brat', z karnavkoiu. Ta iak udaryla vsia tsia barvna, vesela, pidkhmelena tovpa – iak udaryla metelytsi! Iak zakrutylysia, zavertilysia,*

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[72] Oleksandra Kondratovych, *Vesillia na Polissi* (Luts'k: Nadstyr'ia, 1996) 73.

[73] In the Ukrainian context, this term refers to pig's fat which may be dried, salted or smoked.

[74] O. A. Pravdiuk and M. H. Kyianytsia, " Vesillia v seli Dudarykiv," *Vesillia u dvokh knyhakh, Kn.2*, ed. M. M. Shubravs'ka (Kyiv: Naukova dumka, 1970), 375.

> *metuchy snih polamy, tak spravdi bulo na shcho podyvytysia.*
>
> What is this? Gypsies, a tavern-keeper, soldiers and some kind of bears dressed in sheepskin coats with the fur to the outside… Whoever does not have the appropriate pieces for a costume smeared their faces with soot. They shout, scream, bang on pans and empty pails. The women dressed themselves as men and the men – as women, wrapping their heads in headscarves – it's impossible to look at the bearded face under the kerchief without laughing. [There is] One fellow in a hood and a little bell, whom the women address as the 'church *starosta*' [official]…Beside him is a 'church elder' with a collection plate. This entire colourful, happy and drunken crowd erupts in a *metelytsia*[75]dance! Turning, whirling, stirring up snow with their coattails, it truly was site to see.[76]

A confirmation of the *tsyhanshchyna* tradition in Ukrainian wedding rituals is also presented as a descriptive entry in the literary Ukrainian dictionary published by Borys Hrinchenko, *Slovar' ukrains'koi movy* [*Lexicon of the Ukrainian Language*] (1909) almost one hundred years ago:

> *Iak pryidut' usi liude do domu molodoho, to todi pochynaiet'sia tsyhanshchyna. Tsyhanshchyna zbyraiet'sia uvecheri. Uberet'sia odyn cholovik u zhinochyi ubir, a druhyi cholovik uberet'sia u soldats'kyi mundyr, a pyku umazhe sazheiu, i todi zabyraiut' usi liude mishky i idut' tsyhanyty z muzykamy. Natsyhaniat' usiachyny ta todi pryidut'do vesil'noho bat'ka i prodadut' komu-nebud' svoiu tsyhanshchyna, a na ti hroshi kupliat' sobi horilky, bo bat'ko vesil'nyi tsyhanam ne daie horilky.*
>
> *Tsyhanshchyna* begins when all the people come to the home of the groom. *Tsyhanshchyna* gathers in the evening. One man dresses in women's clothing, and another man dresses in a soldier's uniform, and smears his face with soot, and then all the people gather their sacks and go to begging with musicians. Having collected all sorts of items they then come to the wedding father [official] and sell their loot to anybody, and for that money, buy whiskey for themselves, because the wedding father does not give the

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[75] A rapid, lively circular dance.
[76] Hnat Khotkevych, *Katryne vesillia* (Kyiv: Zadruha/Kobza, 1995) 199.

> gypsies any whiskey.[77]

The value of this description lies in the fact that a highly reputable source attests to the existence of the word and the tradition of *tsyhanshchyna* at the beginning of the twentieth century in Eastern Ukraine.

Dr. Natalie Kononenko's research material on weddings in Central Ukraine, collected in 1998, describes a party of cross-dressed individuals parading through a village offering food and drink to bystanders in exchange for gifts for the bride and groom and driving the parents of either the bride or groom in a small decorated cart:

> The solemn part of the wedding is followed by a period of frivolity…it can take the form of a period of general thievery and mischief, where wedding guests steal chickens and other small food stuffs throughout the village, bring them to the house of the groom, and prepare and consume them. Sometimes wedding guests 'attack' all those who chose to return to normal life instead of continuing the wedding celebration. They visit their homes, take gates off of hinges, hide equipment, and commit other pranks…Several young men were pulling a decorated cart in which were seated the parents of the bride… When they encountered anyone on the street who was not part of the wedding party, one of the costumed revelers would offer the bystanders food and *horilka*[78]and receive a small gift for the bridal couple in return.[79]

Research collected in 1995 in Western Ukraine showed similar cavorting during the night following the wedding.[80] Cross-dressed characters appeared among the wedding guests and enacted a bawdy episode which included a "pregnant" bride giving birth to a baby. Also, a man dressed as the bride appeared in the same celebration earlier, when the groom's party was trying to obtain access to the bride's house to escort the bride to the wedding ceremony. Stopped at a gate specially constructed for the wedding (at the end of the bride's street), the groom's *starosta* had to ceremoniously "barter" with the bride's counterparts for her hand in marriage. However, instead of having the real bride appear after the successful completion of the bartering session, the bride's family attempted to substitute the cross-dressed "mock bride" with the intent of "deceiving" the groom.

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[77] Borys Hrinchenko, *Slovnyk ukrains'koi movy* (Kyiv: Kievskaia staryna, 1909) 429.
[78] Alcoholic beverage.
[79] Kononenko.
[80] Mandryk wedding, Terebovlia, Ukraine, 1995.032.v2065. Videotape collected for the Ukrainian Folklore Program, University of Alberta, 1995.

In view of its obvious similarities with *tsyhanshchyna*, it is tempting to conclude that the Ukrainian mock wedding in Saskatchewan had its direct roots in the *tsyhanshchyna* tradition in Ukraine. *Tsyhanshchyna*, sometimes, also featured a bride character, who was sometimes pregnant, dressed in white, with either a curtain or tablecloth resembling a veil on her head. Cross-dressing, improvisation and boisterous behavior were key elements and the enactment of *tsyhanshchyna* also took place usually the day after the wedding. Dr. Kononenko states that:

> The *tsyhanshchyna* may seem silly…Nonetheless, it is an important and necessary part of the wedding…a period of frivolity exists in all meaningful ritual, providing tension release and balance, sealing the serious rite with the magic of laughter.[81]

Thus, the purpose for performing *tsyhanshchyna* was to entertain the honoured couple, family and guests and to share with them some light-hearted moments of silliness and fun after much seriousness. That purpose, too, is reflected in the comments expressed by the informants about the mock weddings in Saskatchewan.

On the other hand, there are several problems with assuming a direct lineage between *tsyhanshchyna* and the Saskatchewan mock weddings. The examples of *tsyhanshchyna* customs collected mostly describe events in the central parts of

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[81] Kononenko.

Ukraine. Since the majority of the Ukrainian immigrants at the turn of the century came from western parts of Ukraine, more specifically the regions of Bukovyna and Galicia, it would be stretching the evidence to suggest that the Ukrainian Canadian mock wedding practices were derived from *tsyhanshchyna*. Although the Kondratovych and Mandryk wedding rituals (mentioned above) both occurred in Western Ukraine, I was not able to find any evidence of this tradition in the ethnographic documents from those regions, suggesting that these practices may have been recent innovations. The fact that none of the informants had any knowledge of the Ukrainian name for "mock weddings" in Saskatchewan also suggests that the practice of this tradition was not imported from Ukraine. In the mock weddings in Saskatchewan, the terms *tshanshchyna*, *tsyhany*, and *kury* do not appear and there are no gypsy characters included in the cast of performers.

My second hypothesis regarding the origin of the Ukrainian mock wedding is that this practice was derived, in large part, from the mock weddings commonly performed at that time on the Great Plains of Canada and the United States, and that they were adopted by members of the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan by the 1930s. The plains mock weddings themselves appear to be a hybrid of English/Irish folk sources and stage traditions. Each will be described and discussed below.[82]

The plains mock weddings that folklorist Dr. Michael Taft has studied in Saskatchewan, Nebraska and North Dakota are similar in structure to the Ukrainian mock weddings in this study. They are performed either as part of the wedding celebration or during wedding anniversaries:

> The mock wedding is a parody in which members of a

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[82] These sources are listed in the bottom half of the comparative chart in Appendix D.

> community dress as a wedding entourage and stage a wedding ceremony. Players have specific roles and there is a written script in which several of the players have lines…Whoever makes up the entourage, the most striking feature of the actors is that all female parts are played by men and all male parts are played by women.[83]

Although most of the characters in the mock wedding are meant to be "stereotypes" (such as a shotgun-toting father), the mock bride and groom characters are often caricatures of the actual couple, mocking their characteristics and mannerisms.[84] Usually the parody includes only a marriage ceremony, however sometimes other episodes of the wedding celebration are incorporated.

Further examples of "regional" forms of folk drama that are similar to the Ukrainian mock wedding are found in other parts of Canada and the United States,[85] such as the practice of "mumming" in Newfoundland. Mumming is a "seasonal custom in which one or more disguised figures visit private households with the purpose of engaging in traditional, convivial interaction with the residents."[86] Mumming is practiced in Newfoundland during the Christmas season[87] and since the people involved are usually masked and often times cross-dressed,[88] the element of surprise is also of great importance.

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[83] Michael Taft, "Folk Drama on the Great Plains: The Mock Wedding in Canada and the United States," *North Dakota History: Journal of the Northern Plains* 56 (Fall 1989): 17-8.
[84] Taft, 18.
[85] In her book *Wedding as Text: Communicating Cultural Identities Through Ritual*, Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz briefly mentions mock wedding characters who appeared at a German/Polish American wedding in 2002 (p.143). According to the bride and groom, it was a tradition for the Polish side of the family.
[86] "Mumming," *Folklore: An Encyclopedia of Beliefs, Customs, Tales, Music, and Art*, ed. Thomas A. Green, vol.2, 1997, 566-7.
[87] John F. Szwed, "The Mask of Friendship: Mumming as a Ritual of Social Relations," *Christmas Mumming in Newfoundland*, ed. Herbert Halpert and G. M. Story (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 112.

There is also evidence of a comparable Irish tradition of *Tim Thiri*.[89] A group of disguised and sometimes cross-dressed men would visit a "wedding-house" dancing and singing.[90] The intent was to bring luck and happiness to the newlyweds and to wish them good health and prosperity.[91] The group was often accompanied by musicians and was usually treated to food and drink once inside the wedding-house.[92]

The "shivaree" tradition[93] also bears some resemblance to the mock wedding complex. Shivaree is defined as a "ritualized form of popular justice intended to draw public attention to transgressions of the moral or social order, thus enforcing community standards, appropriate behavior and traditional rights."[94] Although traditional shivarees have largely disappeared (with the exception of certain isolated rural communities), "reverse shivarees" are known to be practiced throughout

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[88] Mumming, with its inherent comical characters (costumed, cross-dressed and masked) and visitation of houses to entertain their hosts, is also an integral part of the Ukrainian mid-winter cycle of holidays. This ritual, which is part of the Malanka New Year's celebrations however, does not appear to have any direct connection with the *tsyhanshchyna* or the mock wedding practices discussed above. Andriy Chernevych's thesis *Malanka Through the Back Door: Ukrainian New Year's Eve Celebration in East Central Alberta* (U of Alberta, 2002) points to an evolutionary pattern in the Malanka tradition in Canada that parallels the changes evidenced in the mock weddings (these changes are discussed in the subsequent pages of this chapter). With the revival of Ukrainian Canadian culture in the second half of the last century, the structure of the Malanka ritual changed, and the tradition became a "performance" which was held in a building such as a hall for the enjoyment of the community.

[89] The name *Tim Thiri* comes from the Irish word *timthire*, meaning servant. This term was likely used because the characters in the entourage wore rags and had blackened faces. *MacBains: An Etymological Dictionary of the Gaelic Language*, 10 August 2003 <http://www.ceantar.org/Dicts/MB2/mb23.html> It seems to also have a linguistic connection with the *Tom Thumb* complex, in addition to various structural and functional similarities.

[90] Alan Gailey, *Irish Folk Drama* (Cork, Ireland: The Mercier Press, 1969) 91.

[91] Gailey, 91.

[92] Gailey, 91.

[93] This practice is common to many European countries, where it assumes different names: *Katzenmusik* in Germany, *Thierjagen* in Holland, *cencerrada* in Spain, *scampanate* in Italy.

[94] "Charivari/Shivaree," *Folklore*, 120.

Europe.[95] The mockery and punishment of the "victim" of the tradition referred to above gives way to the playful celebration of the individual's traits and quirks, thereby reaffirming social belonging.[96] It has been documented that family and friends perform these "reverse shivarees" for newlyweds, baby showers, or retirement parties, the transitional periods when a person enters a new stage of life.[97]

These folk sources bear a certain resemblance to Taft's plains mock weddings with respect to the costuming, cross-dressing, masking and parodying elements. Also, all three of the previous examples were commonly performed in private settings during house-to house visitations.

There are other displays of folk drama, which are staged in public performance settings that can be compared with the plains mock weddings, especially the *Tom Thumb* weddings that were known in parts of North America at the turn of the last century. The *Tom Thumb* wedding was a community theatre production in which children played the roles of the main participants in a wedding ceremony and which was performed as a fund-raiser or as part of a local festival.

> I, Tom Thumb, take thee, Jennie June, to be my lawful partner from this day forward, for better, but not for worse, for richer, but not poorer, so long as your cooking does not give me dyspepsia, and my mother-in-law does not visit oftener than once in a quarter, and then not to remain all night; so long as all bills for millinery shall be paid out of spending money furnished by your beloved father, out of gratitude for not having you left upon his hands in the deplorable station of a helpless spinster. And thereto I give thee my word and honour. Sure enough.
>
> I, Jennie June, take thee, Tom Thumb, to be my lawful partner from this day forward, for better, but not worse, for richer, but

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[95] "Charivari/Shivaree," *Folklore*, 121.
[96] "Charivari/Shivaree," *Folklore*, 121.
[97] "Charivari/Shivaree," *Folklore*, 121.

> not poorer; provided that you do not smoke or drink; provided that you will never mention how your mother used to cook, or sew on buttons, or make your shirt bosoms shine; provided that you carry up coal three times a day, put out the ashes once a week, bring up the tub, and put up and take down the clothes-line on wash-day, and perform faithfully all other duties demanded by a 'new woman' of the nineteenth century. And thereto I give my word and honour. Sure enough.[98]

Susan Stewart provided the preceding "vows" in her publication *On Longing* (1984) from a late nineteenth century American pamphlet.

Evidence of the *Tom Thumb* phenomenon was also found in Nelson, BC. On April 30, 1918, a *Tom Thumb* wedding was performed for a packed house as a fundraiser for the local church.[99] Children memorized lines and choreography, which they then performed for the entire community. Two weeks later the children repeated their performance, this time raising money for the local chapter of the Red Cross. According to author Nancy Millar, such events were not uncommon in British Columbia throughout the late 1910s and into the 1920s. She surmises that the frequency of *Tom Thumb* weddings decreased after 1929 due to difficult economic times and "not enough money for satin waistcoats and fancy white dresses."[100]

Millar also writes about mock weddings involving adult players. Illustrating these accounts with much detail, Millar includes the following information about the bride:

> Generally, some good-natured guy with a heavy beard and likewise belly was talked into donning women's clothes with an old curtain for a veil perhaps

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[98] As cited in Susan Stewart's *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984) 120-1. The evidence of a script suggests that maybe the *Tom Thumb* weddings were less improvisational in character.

[99] Nancy Millar, *Once Upon a Wedding: Stories of Weddings in Western Canada, 1860-1945, For Better or Worse* (Calgary: Bayeux Arts, 2000) 146.

[100] Millar, 147.

> and rhubarb leaves for a bridal bouquet. The possibilities were endless, but rubber boots were generally featured in some way.[101]

She also provides further information about other characters in the mock wedding:

> The groom was inevitably little and henpecked, the bridesmaid was inevitably in curlers, and so on… [in one mock wedding] the mock minister read vows from an old Eaton's catalogue.[102]

In this particular case, it is not explicitly stated whether the mock wedding production was scripted or improvised. The author does mention, however, that the mock weddings involving adult players were community productions done for the sake of entertainment, not profit.

Taft believes that although there are similarities between the scripts of the *Tom Thumb* weddings and the plains mock weddings, the two are quite different. Whereas the *Tom Thumb* wedding script was quite standardized regardless of context or venue, the plains mock wedding "is continually reshaped to fit local circumstances with the drama speaking to local concerns."[103]

In fact, Taft suggests that the phenomenon of mock weddings may in actuality be a regional product of prairie life:

> That the mock wedding had become largely the preserve of the plains, and exists elsewhere to a much lesser degree if at all, means that the entire tradition has taken on a function of particular importance to this one part of the continent.[104]

He continues on to assert that those that live in the prairie region of Canada enjoy dressing up in costumes and participating in such events, be they parades, festivals, dances or for Halloween or Christmas. By these standards, the mock wedding is a "natural extension" of such traditions.[105]

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[101] Millar, 147.
[102] Millar, 147.
[103] Taft, 22.
[104] Taft, 22.

My third and most plausible hypothesis of the origin of the Ukrainian mock weddings practiced in Saskatchewan is that they represent a combination of the previous two sources. I would like to suggest that the origin of the mock weddings studied within the Ukrainian community is in fact a hybrid of something stemming from both Ukrainian folk wedding traditions and the plains mock weddings. Perhaps something resembling *tsyhanshchyna* that was once practiced in and was brought from Western Ukraine combined with the exposure to the Great Plains mock weddings to create a "Ukrainian-ized" version, which included parodies of specifically Ukrainian elements and symbols.

Before exploring this theory further, it seems appropriate to provide some background information on the history of dramatic activity in the rural Ukrainian communities on the prairies. Amateur dramatic groups were among the first expressions of organized community life at the turn of the century. Soon after their arrival in Canada, Ukrainians established churches, reading associations (*chytal'ni*), Ukrainian National Homes and nearly every Ukrainian community in Canada boasted at least one amateur dramatic group.[106]

In Saskatchewan, Ukrainian theatrical activity can be traced back to 1908, when the first production, Bethlehem Night (*Vyfleiems'ka nich*) was performed in the

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[105] Taft, 22.

[106] Alexandra Pritz, "Ukrainian Cultural Traditions in Canada: Theatre, Choral Music and Dance, 1891-1967," MA thesis, U of Ottawa, 1977, 25.

Sokal school in the district of St. Julien.[107] Most of the theatrical associations were based out of the nearly seven hundred Ukrainian National Homes across Canada.[108] The 1930s brought economic depression, and with that the Ukrainian dramatic activity experienced a decline and many of the associations ceased to exist.[109]

In the 1940s, a new generation of Ukrainian Canadians appeared who, having moved into the urban environment, lacked adequate knowledge of the Ukrainian language to participate in dramatic productions and in many cases, to understand and appreciate them. This resulted in a decline and reduction of Ukrainian dramatic associations across Canada.[110] In rural areas in Western Canada this decline was not as pronounced.

Theatrical associations had helped build the sense of community identity, bringing people together for cultural expression and entertainment. In this regard, the informal mock weddings studied in this project are a very much a part of the same tradition – fulfilling the needs for entertainment while serving to build community identity. However, of the hundreds of Ukrainian theatrical productions documented, I have not found a single mention of anything resembling a mock wedding.[111] And though it is possible that *Tom Thumb* performances may have been staged in some of the seven hundred Ukrainian halls, I have found no record of this. Neither published local histories, nor hall records from the particular areas of Saskatchewan under study mention any mock weddings or *Tom Thumb* performances.[112] Although I have not found any supporting documentation for these public performances, it is still plausible that, given additional research, one would find that the mock wedding is possibly the result of a combination of local factors, surviving in varying "ethnicized" versions across the prairies.[113]

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[107] Michael Marunchak, *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History*, (Winnipeg-Ottawa: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1970), 175.

[108] Paul Yuzyk, *Ukrainian Canadians: Their Place and Role in Community Life*, (Toronto: Kliev Printers, 1967), 64.

[109] Pritz, 69.

[110] Pritz, 70.

[111] As an appendix to her thesis, Pritz offers a comprehensive list of dramas performed on the prairies in the first half of the century. It is difficult to know from the titles themselves, however, it appears that there were no dramas staged which were comparable to the mock wedding. There are plays, such as *Kanadiis'kyi zhenykh* (*The Canadian bridegroom*) by Mykhailo Petrivs'kyi that did include wedding scenes (published 1918).

As mentioned previously, the plains mock weddings studied by Taft have elements very similar to those studied in this project:

> Unannounced and supposedly unexpected, a mock wedding procession enters the hall and takes over 'center stage.' Amidst laughter, jeers and expressions of dismay, this procession arranges itself in a tableau: the minister standing before a bride and groom, surrounded by bridesmaids, parents of the mock couple, a best man or ring bearer, and sometimes accompanied by a flower girl, a musician, or other dramatis personae. Whoever makes up the entourage, the most striking feature of the actors is that all female parts are played by men and all male parts are played by women. Often the bride is an especially big, burly man, while the groom is petite…[114]

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[112] I have searched through relevant local history books, but was not able to discover any information on the topic of mock weddings. Also, I have contacted the Saskatchewan Provincial Archives, which did not find any mention of mock weddings in their database nor in the rural hall records that are in their possession. A further, more extensive search, perhaps through local newspapers may uncover evidence of this tradition.

[113] The Norwegian mock weddings mentioned below could also likely be a product of the "ethnicization" process. It is also noteworthy to mention that an internet search on "mock weddings" revealed a website dedicated to "Rusin" mock weddings. The Rusins are an ethnic group from the Transcarpathian region of western Ukraine and the Prešov region of Slovakia. The website states that wedding re-enactments or "mock weddings" were popular activities for a Rusin church group in the 1930s in Youngstown, Ohio. These were dramatic performances with no gender reversal. *Rusin Mock Weddings*, 10 August 2003 <http://www.iarelative.com/wedding/mock.htm>. The search also revealed that the other sites identified were largely commercial productions, with some being performed for charities, such as comedy clubs and dinner theatres performing "mock wedding" plays, often with cross-dressed characters for public and private functions. See *Funinamillion Dinner Theatre*, 10 August 2003 <http://www. themysterygame.com/mod.php?mod=userpage&menu=9&page_id_4> and *Custom Comedy Capers* <http://www.comedycapers.com/Offerings/mokwed.htm>.

[114] Taft, 17-18.

He continues to describe the minister:

> Holding a telephone book, an old catalog or perhaps a *Playboy* magazine, the minister then reads the vows to the couple before pronouncing them 'man and wife.'[115]

Such descriptions of non-Ukrainian mock weddings clearly mirror the parodies enacted within the Ukrainian community. The casting is similar; the props are similar, as is the structure and general intent for the benefit of entertainment. Perhaps the main differences, other than obvious ethnic symbols, is that Taft's mock weddings were sometimes performed for anniversaries and that, in some cases, a structured script complete with characterization, commentary, and *Tom Thumb*-like vows was used.[116] The plains mock weddings prove to be the most similar in form to the Ukrainian mock weddings to date. And so it is perhaps this small-town community practice, coupled with specific ethnic overtones, that have given rise to the mock wedding complex within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan.

It is also quite evident that there are many similarities between Millar's descriptions of adult mock weddings and those studied within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan. From characters to costuming, and from props to purpose, the striking commonalities suggest shared origins. The specific use of rhubarb leaves in the mock bouquets and a store catalogue instead of a Gospel book are striking similarities in detail.

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[115] Taft, 18.

[116] While interviewing one of the informants for this project, it was brought to my attention that there was a script which existed for a Norwegian mock wedding. The origin of the script is unknown, as it had been given to the informant by a Norwegian friend who claimed that it was still being performed in certain Saskatchewan communities. Though written in English, the language in the script mimics a Norwegian accent and includes several specific cultural overtones: "*Ladies and Yentlemen, dis is yer lucky day! Did yew know dat? Vell 'tiz, because yew are about tew vitness da Norvegian wedding of ________ and _________...*" The script states that it may be used for an anniversary party or bridal shower, and that the appropriate personalization (bride and groom's names, specific characters and costuming) is to be inserted for each specific performance.

The challenging aspect of this theory lies in the unknown nature of the source of the adult mock weddings from the early part of the century described by Millar. Were they merely mature, humourous versions of the *Tom Thumb* weddings practiced during that time? If that indeed is the case, how did they become part of the Ukrainian wedding tradition on the prairies? How did the mock wedding become so widespread and popular in the Ukrainian communities? Why would people who remember the tradition in the 1930s think it came from the Old Country? How did it become perceived as Ukrainian-specific? Simply put, not enough research has been done on the topic.[117]

As integrated and assimilated as rural Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan eventually became, it is difficult to imagine that the tradition of the mock wedding complex was theirs alone. Maybe the scattered "ethnicized" versions lasted longer than others, thereby forming isolated pockets of practitioners of this ritual, who believed that their tradition was unique unto them. With more research on the topic this question will hopefully someday be answered.

Individualization

> …Mock weddings are intimately connected with the socio-cultural contexts in which they are found, and concern the creation, maintenance, and symbolic representation of social relations within the community.[118]

When discussing mock weddings, it is impossible to ignore the specific context of a given performance. Especially in regards to folk drama, the setting in which it is performed gives much insight into the meaning behind certain symbols/actions and local community[119] functions. As both the aesthetic and functional aspects of the production become familiar and common to a particular area, and by becoming somewhat structured, they "institutionalize" the folk tradition. It is my argument that, given geographical, political, economic and cultural circumstances, mock weddings that began as a community ritual, have in time, largely survived as a family ritual. This process of "individualization" has been the fate of many ethnic cultural traditions, underlining the importance of close kinship ties in the maintenance of spiritual culture and the performing arts.

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[117] According to Alan Gailey in his work *Irish Folk Drama*, the taboo of publishing accounts of wedding mumming extends back to the nineteenth century. For propriety's sake, the genre was ignored, as were other improprieties during such life-cycle ceremonies (p.100).
[118] Greenhill (1988) 178.

When young people in the rural communities decided to get married, preparations for the weddings required manpower resources that few families could muster on their own. Such occasions that elsewhere were family-based were here community-wide projects. Ukrainian weddings were largely "joyful expressions of an intense sense of community."[120] Food preparation, butchering and building were divided among many volunteer extended family members and neighbours, because usually all members of the community were invited to participate in the wedding festivities.

The intermarriage of families within the same Ukrainian community helped maintain cultural traditions, which may have otherwise faded. The mock weddings, as recalled by the informants for this study from the first half of the twentieth century, took place in the Ukrainian block settlements in Saskatchewan. According to the informants, at the end of the 1940s, their performance was considered to be commonplace in each of the focus areas. The comments of many informants reveal that, within some specific communities, the mock wedding tradition was maintained because it was regarded as popular culture.[121]

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[119] Community is defined here as a place "where one learns and continues to practice how to be 'social'; where one acquires culture." A.P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community* (London: Tavistock, 1985) 15.
[120] James E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," *Prairie Perspectives*, ed. David P. Gagan (Toronto, 1970) 51-2.

A husband and wife who were from the St. Julien and Melfort areas respectively, nevertheless had similar stories to report regarding mock wedding popularity:

Informant #1:	I think that's when those things were popular, in the 40s.
Informant #2:	They were popular a long time ago…automatic.
Interviewer:	Was is common to have a Ukrainian wedding without a mock wedding the next day?
Informant #2:	No.[122]

One of the larger families in the Nipawin area, the Kozun family saw many family weddings with mock weddings being performed it in the 1940s and 1950s:

Informant:	That's what they used to do all the time – [on] my side [of the family] – there were always mock weddings.
Interviewer:	Were there other families in your area that did these mock weddings?
Informant:	Oh yeah…almost every family did that.[123]

Another of the informants who spoke to his elderly mother about mock weddings long ago, had similar findings to report:

> I talked to my mom about it…she said it's just something that gets started. She remembers in her days there was always a

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[121] Popular culture is defined as "materials and activities widely disseminated in a society." (*Folklore*, vol. II, 649)

[122] Mary and Nick Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003.

[123] Anne Hluchaniuk, personal interview, 10 April 2003.

> mock wedding…she's from Tarnopol/Yellow Creek area…[124]

The informant's mother would have been referring to an even earlier time, in the 1930s and 1940s. Thus, in the remembrances of the informants and their family members, there is significant agreement that in many of the Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan mock weddings were commonplace during that time.

In the second half of the century the popularity of mock weddings declined. For those families still remaining in the rural areas, the practice of mock weddings changed. The informants indicated that the rural performances of mock weddings became limited to celebrations in their specific family within the last forty years, and few had heard of any other groups in their areas who preserved the custom:

> I don't know of anybody else besides our family…my cousins were married in the 60s – they had them, and then my brothers in the 70s…I haven't seen one in so long…[125]
>
> I don't think I've seen one lately in another family…I know my mom and dad used to say that that was very common to have mock weddings…In our family it's quite common – we've always had mock weddings. We've had it, and it's just been a tradition in the Wojcichowsky family, to have a mock wedding.[126]

With whole communities no longer perpetuating the mock wedding tradition, it was left to certain families to maintain the tradition and the mock wedding became a family-centred event.

Differences in mock weddings from community to community are minor, based mainly on specific family versions of the folk drama. Thus, for example, the Fedusiak family in the Insinger area was and is the nucleus for mock weddings in that district. At almost every family wedding, a mock wedding is performed. It is interesting to note that in contrast to all the other mock wedding remembrances collected, the Fedusiak/Insinger area mock weddings are all entirely without dialogue, and each character wears a plastic mask.[127]

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[124] Ed Wojcichowsky, personal interview, 9 April 2003.
[125] Holly Stasiuk, personal interview, 7 March 2003.
[126] Ed Wojcichowsky, personal interview, 9 April 2003.

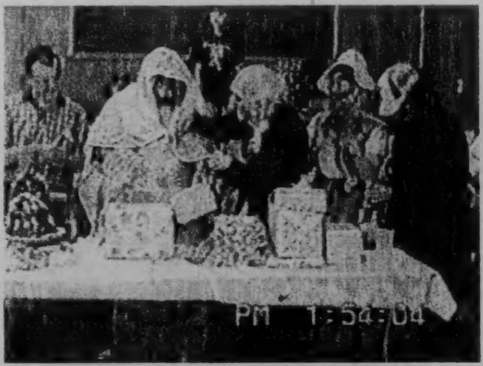

Figure 20 - A mock bride, mock groom, mock bridesmaid and mock groomsman open "their" gifts in the Fedusiak mock wedding, 1997.

To the accompaniment of music, the characters, dressed in the "regular" attire, traipse around in an outrageous fashion, but not a word is uttered by any of the cast members, and their true identities remain concealed. Apparently, one of the games played at these functions is to try to see which wedding guests can guess who the cast members are.[128]

As the children and grandchildren of the early immigrants moved into the urban centres, cultural integration became an ever-present reality:

> …a wedding in town would have to be indoors, it couldn't last more than a day (people had nine to five jobs) and the

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[127] Cheryl Fedusiak, personal interview, 4 March 2003.

[128] Parallels can be drawn between the previous example and the tradition of mumming in eastern Canada. The element that makes the Fedusiak/Insinger area mock weddings unique (amongst the others in this study) is the notion of masking. The disguising of characters is a key element in mumming, as are attempts of the hosts to guess the identity of the visitors. Furthermore, like the Fedusiak/Insinger area mock weddings, which are entirely without dialogue, so were certain performances of the Irish *Tim Thiri*. It was believed that speaking or utterances of any kind would break the spell, and it was a requirement that the identities of the players were to remain unknown. See Gailey, p.91.

> parents of the bride would pay the Ladies' Auxiliary to do the cooking that could no longer be done in the small kitchen of a town house…[129]

Many families who had moved into the cities continued to maintain the mock wedding practice in the 1970s either from a desire to retain familiar community traditions from "back home," or because there was a growing renewed interest in one's ethnicity. There is evidence of mock weddings being practiced during this time in the urban context, but now in the family circle rather than in the larger community environment:

Interviewer:	So, was it [the mock wedding] a surprise for you?
Informant:	Actually, it was…yeah, because I really didn't think that they would be doing that, in the city like that… because most of the ones we were at all the time were in the country and in the smaller towns… Actually, I guess I was the first one to get married in the city.[130]

The previous informant had come from the Nipawin area, where mock weddings had been commonplace when she was growing up. As the first in her family to get married in the city, even she was surprised that the family tradition adapted to the new city environment.

Although mock weddings were considered to be a family tradition in this case, there was still a certain expectation that the tradition would experience a decline when taken out of its rural context. In addition, most of her extended family members still lived in rural areas near Nipawin and had to travel a long distance to come to the wedding, which intensified the extra-ordinary significance of this particular performance.

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[129] Myrna Kostash, *All of Baba's Children* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977) 177.
[130] Irene Yurashak, personal interview, 8 April 2003.

Cultural integration, especially in the urban context, also meant that intermarriage between ethnic communities became common, as one's workplace colleagues, acquaintances and friends were no longer only those who were part of the Ukrainian community.[131]

As this trend continued into the 1960s, a secondary wave of integration occurred, perhaps counterbalancing the ethnic revival that was taking place.[132] What may once have been considered "typical" or "traditional" in terms of wedding rituals, now had to be negotiated between both the bride and the groom, and their families. Since now not everyone was of the same background and competence, linguistically and culturally, and what may have seemed perfectly acceptable one generation previously, was no longer completely applicable:

> I think people invite differently to weddings now. They don't invite all the relatives *because* they're relatives. They more or less leave it up to the bride and groom and say 'okay, who would you like to share your day?,' and a lot of times, its their friends from work and whatever. So, the crowd has changed.[133]

In several cases, for the families who practice mock weddings, it was the extended family members who instigated such performances. When the bridal couple limited the relatives invited to a given wedding, the organizers may have been often left out of the picture. Furthermore, many weddings of Ukrainian-Canadians adapted to the urban environment and were "anglicized"[134] in order to accommodate the ethnically diverse invited guests.

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[131] In some senses, the phenomenon of mixed marriages and mixed cultural environment increased the significance of cultural symbols that mark boundaries, e.g. children of mixed marriages being enrolled in Ukrainian bilingual schools and various cultural activities.

[132] A discussion of the 1960s and the ethnic revival is presented in the following subchapter.

[133] Irene Yurashak, personal interview, 8 April 2003.

[134] In this case, "anglicizing" means to accommodate to pop culture and to the commercial norm.

In regards to contemporary mock wedding performances, the dialogue and commentary that was once all in the Ukrainian language, is now partly in English and partly in Ukrainian. Typically each half remains un-translated. This proves to be the case for ethnically mixed marriages as well as those that occurred solely within a given Ukrainian community. In the fieldwork collected for this project there was only one case where all commentary and dialogue of the mock wedding was in English.[135]

In conclusion, the 1950s saw many Ukrainian youth moving into urban centres, which resulted in the adaptation of rural traditions and rituals. What was once considered to be a rural community-wide practice, became one which is now much more family-centred in both the rural and urban contexts. What is certain is that in whichever form the mock wedding is being maintained, it has survived for having changed over time.

Revival

Beginning in the 1960s, a revival[136] of sorts took place within ethnic minorities across North America. In the aftermath of the Second World War, it was expected that ethnic minorities would assimilate and that ethnic consciousness would greatly decline.[137] However, forces such as the civil rights movement in the United States and the "Quiet Revolution" in Quebec mobilized people against the trend of racial and ethnic inequalities, demonstrating that ethnic (or racial) assertiveness was

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[135] Humen family mock wedding, Alvena area, 1999.
[136] "The conscious use of folklore *as* folklore to express or represent ideas about identity and/or art; the resuscitation of 'living' traditions," as defined in *Folklore*, vol. II, 723-4.
[137] Richard D. Alba, *Ethnic Identity: The Transformation of White America*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1990) 1.

"a legitimate way of achieving important goals."[138] The maturing of a third generation of ethnics in North America played an important role – these individuals no longer needed to be defensive about their place in the New World and could be proud of their ethnic heritage.[139] Many of this younger generation became political activists, speaking out against various injustices in search of a more liberal society, free from ethnic and racial inequalities.[140] It was during this time, in the 1960s and 1970s that an "ethnic revival" took place and pride for one's ethnic roots became trendy.[141] For the generation of Canadians who were the children and grandchildren of the early immigrants, it was once again considered popular to be "ethnic." This rise in demand for legitimacy of ethnic diversity resulted in many young Canadians discovering or re-discovering their heritage and their ethnic roots.

Through this revival, specific elements of Ukrainian folklore were introduced into the lives of those seeking a connection to their ancestry. It was during this time, and in the subsequent decade of "multiculturalism" that existing ethnic cultural institutions and organizations experienced resurgence, and many new cultural entities were created. Residences, camps, choirs and dance groups flourished across the prairies as the generation of young adults was making the transition from the country to the city. At a juncture when much of what they knew of their culture and community could have been lost, the new urban "ethnicized" setting now provided a somewhat familiar environment and unique opportunity for Ukrainian youth to expand their horizons. It was at this time that mock weddings, too, became a cultural vehicle of interest to Ukrainian organizations in Saskatchewan. This section will examine two examples of revival that seemed to have played an important role in the 1980s in the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan - the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon, and two Ukrainian youth choirs.

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[138] Alba, 2.
[139] Alba, 2.
[140] Colin M. Bain, Dennis DesRivieres, Peter Flaherty, et al. *Making History: The Story of Canada in the Twentieth Century* (Toronto: Prentice Hall, 2000) 292.
[141] Alba, 2.

During the 1960s and 1970s, when many of the youth in North America were searching for their "place" in the world, student residences played an important role in the cultural education of young Ukrainian Canadians. As in previous decades, the P. Mohyla Institute in Saskatoon was a cornerstone of the Ukrainian community both educationally and culturally.[142] The majority of its residents were the descendants of Saskatchewan's Ukrainian pioneers that were drawn to "the Institute" from rural areas across the province. As with the several similar institutions found across the prairies, the Institute offered an environment with many of the comforts and warmth of a "home away from home" while the students were attending university. Ukrainian residences were particularly attractive to many students and their families because of the clear connection with their heritage, language and religion. Cultural programming included language classes, dancing, singing and drama. For many people, the Institute provided a chance to build an "ethnic identity" alongside others who were in the same situation. Community-appointed cultural "instructors" made frequent appearances at the Institute to teach the students everything from the Ukrainian alphabet to the

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[142] P. Mohyla Institute was founded in 1916 to provide a Ukrainian residence in Saskatoon for students from rural areas attending high school or university in the city. *Twenty-Five Years of the P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute in Saskatoon*, (Winnipeg: P. Mohyla Ukrainian Institute, 1945), 310.

arkan,[143] from how to make *pysanky*[144] to the components of a traditional Ukrainian wedding.

These cultural institutions, in combination with personal experiences from "back home," regenerated the mock wedding tradition, which surfaced in the cities. Applying the information they learned in the cultural classes about traditional Ukrainian weddings, students performed mock weddings partially for the sake of their own entertainment. The combination of lessons in culture and practical application soon evolved into a popular expression of heritage and fun:

> This is where Mohyla comes into play…all these Institutes, they had a role to play in the maintenance of the culture for these kids…these kids had other traditions they had built up on the farms…and they would pass them around to each other. They were also taught – by the administrator, dancing and singing instructors – to be proud of their heritage…[145]

Students who were maybe not certain of their cultural identity before moving into the Institute were soon "one of the gang," donning makeshift Ukrainian costumes and toasting the mock couple with their recently learned folk song. However, these mock weddings were somewhat different from their earlier counterparts in that various Ukrainian national symbols were intentionally added to showcase unique ethnic flavour.

When they completed their university education and were embarking on married life, it was not uncommon for these former Mohyla residents to be surprised by their old "Institute friends" with an impromptu mock wedding, complete with a varied cast of characters, costumes, and antics.[146]

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[143] A traditional boys' dance from the Hutsul mountain region of Ukraine. This dance was one of many which became popularized by Ukrainian dance groups in Canada.

[144] The *pysanka* is a Ukrainian Easter egg. The egg is dyed various colours and written on with a wooden stylus which is dipped in wax, thereby locking in the specific colours. At the end of the process, the wax is melted off the egg to release the ancient symbols and motifs that are commonly used in the design.

[145] Reverend Taras and Joanne Makowsky, personal interview, 6 March 2003.

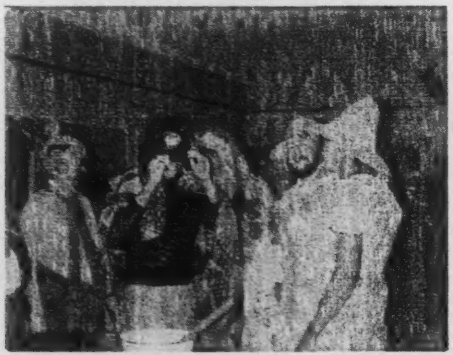

Figure 21 - The cast of characters for the Makowsky mock wedding in Mazeppa, 1978. The mock priest wears a blanket around his shoulders as a vestment. The mock bride is pregnant, smoking a cigarette. The mock bridesmaid and groomsman stand nearby. The actual bridal couple and the cast of the mock wedding were all former students at P. Mohyla Institute.

What had maybe once been a part of their ancestor's community life had come full circle, and had re-introduced itself as a colourful "Ukrainian tradition" within this narrower and very specific community, with an added layer of culturally-conscious nationalism.

Mock weddings were also revived in Saskatchewan through other Ukrainian organizations throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The political climate in Canada that emerged in the aftermath of the "Quiet Revolution" of the Francophones in Quebec[147] opened the door to the official "acceptance" of ethnic minorities as legitimate, viable and colourful parts of the Canadian mosaic.[148] On October 8, 1971, the Canadian Government adopted Multiculturalism as its official policy for dealing with the many ethnic groups in Canada. For many ethnic groups, partial government funding under the new initiative to foster multicultural activities aided in the larger revitalization of their cultural communities. Choirs, youth groups, summer camps and dance groups were being organized all over the country, offering young Ukrainian Canadian families new extra-curricular and summer activity opportunities. The creation of new cultural programs, coupled with the renewed interest in one's ethnic identity, led many to enroll their children in these developmental and educational opportunities.

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[146] Cheryl Fedusiak, personal interview, 4 March 2003.

[147] Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliot, *Multiculturalism in Canada: The Challenge of Diversity* (Scarborough: Nelson Canada, 1992) 68.

[148] As cited on the *Multiculturalism* website <http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/pubs/multi-stats_e.cfm>.

It was during this time that summer Ukrainian language immersion programs for secondary students were introduced at the various Institutes in Western Canada. Although these programs were not the first of their kind,[149] it was the first time that language courses were being offered for high school credit. The summer immersion program at the St. Petro Mohyla Institute, for example, offered students not only a high school credit in Ukrainian language (grades 9-12), but also provided them with programming highlighting various aspects of Ukrainian culture – dancing, singing, handicrafts, drama, history, poetry, spiritual culture, and folklore.[150] Furthermore, the specialized and strictly enforced language "immersion" environment provided the students with practical opportunities to learn and improve their language skills, as well as gain an "authentic" cultural experience. This complex formula proved itself successful and attracted students from across North America including some who were imported as language models from Ukraine.

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[149] Initially called the "Conductors' and Teachers' Courses" (*Dyrygents'ko-uchytel's'ki Kursy*), a similar summer program was offered in Winnipeg beginning in 1941. Though the main focus of this program was music, other aspects of Ukrainian culture were also taught. In 1942, the name changed to the "Educational Summer Course" (*Vyshchi Osvitni Kursy – VOK*), and included a broad range of subjects covering all branches of Ukrainian culture. Students of these courses went on to become key community leaders in the cultural revival movement of the 1960s and 1970s. (Pritz, 215)

[150] Originally founded in 1970 as a culture and language program, The St. Petro Mohyla Institute Summer Immersion Program became a "total immersion" camp in 1975. Also, it was during this time that the summer courses were offered for high school credit and additional aspects of culture were introduced. *Mohyla Institute: 60th Anniversary Celebration, July 1-4, 1976* (commemorative booklet), 11.

The mock wedding was introduced into the program ostensibly to entertain and amuse. In reality it served as a cultural and educational tool to teach students about the Ukrainian wedding complex, reinforcing classroom instruction by giving students a chance to put the acquired knowledge into practice.[151]

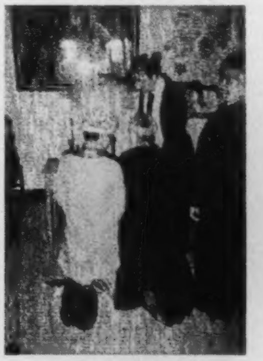

Figure 22 - Students and staff at the Mohyla Institute Total Immersion Summer School in Saskatoon enact a mock wedding, 1993. During the mock wedding ceremony, the mock priest asks the mock couple to kneel and repeat their vows with the traditional wreaths on their heads.

Each student was assigned a gender-reversed role as a central character (bride, groom, etc.), as family (mother or father of the bride), or as invited guests.

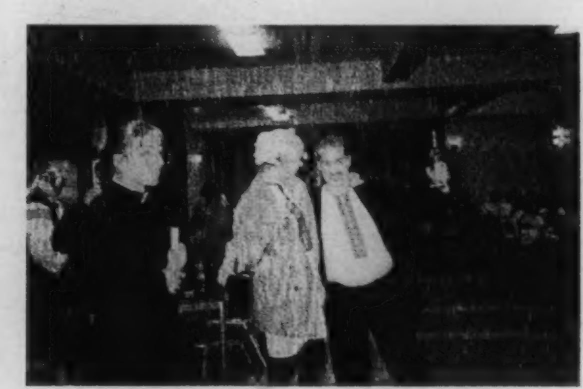

Figure 23 - Students and staff at the Mohyla Institute Total Immersion Summer School enact a mock wedding, 1993. During the mock reception, the mock fathers of the bride and groom toast their children with drink and with song. The mock priest looks on.

In addition to each of the roles, basic knowledge of the wedding complex and Ukrainian costuming encouraged students to develop their acting skills to be able to improvise their character in an entertaining fashion. And so, the mock wedding became a weekend activity, complete with a ceremony, photograph session, dinner and dance, along with an amusing enactment of traditional rituals.

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[151] I experienced my first mock wedding when I was a student in the program in 1993.

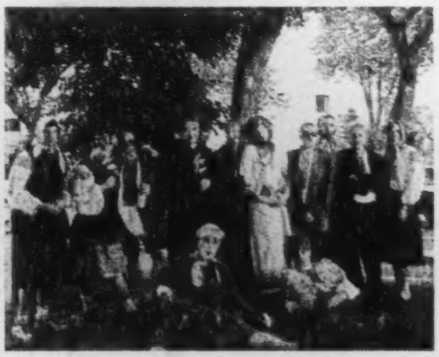

Figure 24 - Several of the cast members of the mock wedding at the Mohyla Institute Total Immersion Summer School (1993) pose for a group portrait. Characters include the mock couple, their attendants, the mock priest and the mothers and grandmothers of the couple.

In similar fashion, the two Ukrainian choirs in Saskatoon also proved to be catalysts for the resurfacing of the mock wedding tradition in an urban centre. Both the Vesna Chorus[152] and the Lastiwka Ukrainian Orthodox Choir[153] have been known to propogate the tradition amongst their members within the last twenty-five years.[154] It is assumed that the revival of the mock wedding tradition among choir members came about through the efforts of those members who had themselves experienced such a performance, either through personal involvement in rural community practices or as learned tradition in Ukrainian cultural organizations. Some of the most recent mock weddings collected within this study are a result of such circumstances.

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[152] The Vesna Chorus was founded in 1975, as part of the Vesna Festival held every spring in Saskatoon.

[153] Members of the Ukrainian Orthodox community in Saskatoon founded the Lastiwka Ukrainian Orthodox Choir in 1984.

[154] This assertion was expressed by the informants who were part of these organizations.

Here, too, explicit Ukrainian[155] overtones were added, even costuming from the very choirs they sang in.

The Chayka mock wedding of 2000 serves as an example of this resurgence. It was staged by friends and family of the groom, John Chayka, who had sung with him in the Lastiwka choir a few years previously.

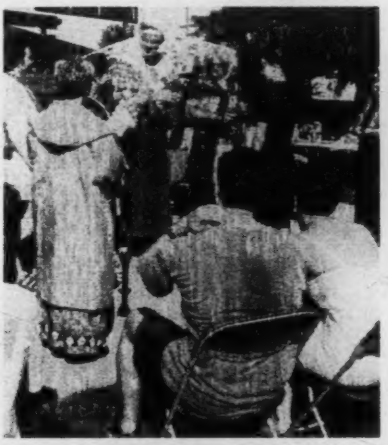

Figure 25 - With the actual bride and groom seated in the front row, the group enacts a mock wedding ceremony. In this photograph, the mock bride and mock groom exchange rings of sausage.

On their way to the *popravyny* the day after the wedding, this group of friends decided to enact a mock wedding, and began to search frantically for appropriate costumes and props. Having just performed with their choir the previous day, the group of friends still had their choir costumes in their cars, and used them as visible ethnic symbols in the mock wedding.

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[155] Ukrainian symbols that are recognizable as being part of the popular culture of the community.

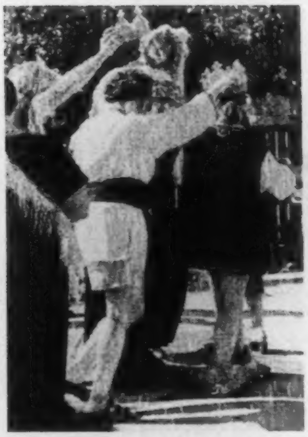

Figure 26 - In this photograph, the mock bride and mock groom take the ceremonial walk three times around, led by the mock priest and followed by their mock attendants, who hold mock crowns over their heads.

The cast also enacted scenes parodying an Orthodox marriage ceremony, complete with rings of *kovbasa* for wedding rings, crowns from a Burger King restaurant, records of Nana Mouskouri and Harry Belafonte for wedding icons and a Dr. Seuss book as the Epistle. Such wild parodies of sacred rituals within the marriage ceremony are considered on the verge of being scandalous.

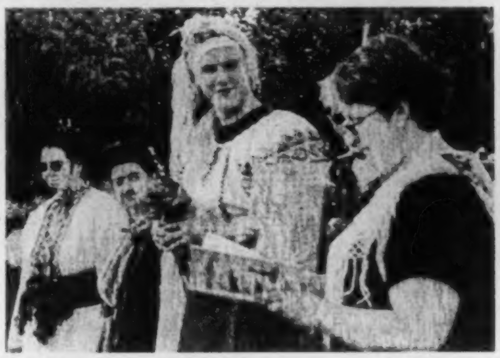

Figure 27 - One of the mock icon holders reads the mock Epistle from Dr. Seuss, as the mock couple listens intently.

These Ukrainian and pop culture symbols added familiar and readily identifiable overtones to the mock wedding performance for those gathered in the audience.

The individual revival[156] is sometimes a by-product of the "institutional" revival, sparking interest within an individual, who then takes the tradition back to a particular community which is not familiar with such a practice. Even if the ritual is first seen and learned by way of one of the organizations discussed earlier, it is in the form of an independent strain that it is then taken back to one's family or circle of friends. The individual's motivation behind his/her participation in this revival process can range from nostalgia to performing for entertainment purposes.

> In the old days, the culture had 'varied and numerous' functions; in the new, they are 'limited in number to two or three: to entertain and to promote ethnic identification and economic prosperity.[157]

While at one time cultural traditions were transmitted interpersonally, by oral means, within a private family setting, they now were also passed on institutionally.[158]

The reader should not assume that all members of the Ukrainian community view the performance of mock weddings as a positive expression of culture, a fact that emerged from an interview conducted with one individual who had rather negative impressions of such performances.[159] Having been an active member in both religious and cultural organizations for many years, this individual had witnessed a mock wedding and was offended by what was presented. The mock wedding he had seen had depicted the church marriage ceremony only, and it was his feeling that the parody was blasphemous. He was also offended by the fact that the characters were dressed in Ukrainian costumes and ethnic and pop culture symbols were used in parody as props for the ceremony.

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[156] This may be defined as a situation, whereby an individual, after having been exposed to this activity in one of the cultural organizations, adopts the practice in their own "home" community.

[157] Robert Klymasz, *Ukrainian Folklore in Canada: An Immigrant Complex in Transition*, 128.

[158] Kostash, 360.

[159] This informant has requested to remain anonymous.

This informant was concerned, moreover, by the fact that this performance was witnessed by guests who were non-Ukrainian. As someone who had "battled" tirelessly for many years to ensure that a respectable image of things Ukrainian was presented to the "outside" world, he had regarded this mockery of culture and religion as a huge step backwards. When further queried about the propriety of the performance, this person stated that had there been only Ukrainians present, the mock wedding would not have been as offensive to him. Then it would have been viewed more an "inside joke."[160]

There are undoubtedly others who do not agree with the performance of mock weddings and that find them offensive, however due to the limited focus of this study, only one such interview was conducted. It should be mentioned, nevertheless, that in each interview, informants were asked if anyone, to their knowledge, had ever been offended by the performance of a mock wedding. The overwhelming majority of informants stated that they had not seen such a reaction, and if someone present was offended, they managed to conceal their feelings.

In summary, the revival of mock weddings within the Ukrainian communities in Saskatchewan contributed to bringing national and ethnic symbols to the forefront. Although the meaning behind the various symbols was often dependent on one's family or community background, the symbols used were nevertheless generally consistent among those involved:

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[160] "Humor everywhere appears to be governed by culturally specific rules that place limits on it and determine which topics are suitable for laughing about and what situations are appropriate contexts for joking." Moira Smith, "Whipping Up a Storm: The Ethics and Consequences of Joking Around." *Arbiters of Taste: Censuring/Censoring Discourse*, ed. Mary Ellen Brown. Spec. issue of *Journal of Folklore Research* 32 (May-August 1995): 129.

> Meaning is a shared cultural production: It does not lie in the event, waiting for us to discover it, and is not produced by a single individual, rather it is the result of combined numerous interpretations of the event by multiple participants…[161]

Portions of the Ukrainian wedding ceremony, specific rituals at the celebration afterward, the music played or sung and the props used, are just some examples of culturally-specific symbols that are parodied in mock wedding presentations today.

Figure 28 - The mock bride and mock groom at a Kozun family wedding near Nipawin, 1965. They stand in front of the actual father-of-the-groom for a toast upon their arrival.

As cultural awareness decreases, and as more marriages take place outside of the ethnic community, specifically-Ukrainian cultural elements and symbols tend to acquire a greater significance in the mock wedding performance.

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[161] R. Penman, *Reconstructing Communicating: Looking to a Future* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2000) 71.

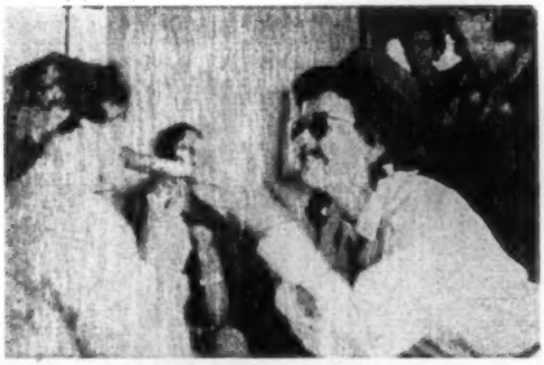

Figure 29 - The mock bride and mock groom feeding each other *kovbasa* at a Kozun family wedding near Nipawin, 1965. Instead of feeding each other wedding cake, the mock couple uses a common ethnic symbol for comic effect.

Although not all of those present may understand the meaning behind what is depicted in the mock wedding, those performing and the Ukrainian familial contingent present see the performance as an opportunity to showcase their "unique tradition" in front of the new family members and friends. In most cases, explanations are given either before or after the performance.

According to the informants, the two examples of recent revival of the mock wedding in the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan are typical of the majority of the mock wedding performances still practiced today. In the process of "revival" of the mock wedding tradition as shown in the two examples described in this section, it appears that aspects of both the community and the individualized (family-oriented) versions discussed earlier are still significant. In most cases, the tradition now appears to focus on the expression of culturally specific symbols instead of celebrating an actual union. The ritual, while still enacted in a community-like atmosphere, is now performed by groups of people with close ties.

> A ritual not only marks tradition, but serves to maintain it.
> Tradition, being abstract, does not really have concrete existence.
> Rituals, being made up of visible symbols with concrete

> existence, are one of the primary ways in which tradition finds life.[162]

Perhaps then, assuming that culture is always living and in a state of flux, the mock wedding ritual by way of organized or spontaneous revival, has been reinvented and become a new tradition – yet is still retaining the parallel fundamental ideas of community and enjoyment.

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[162] Wendy Leeds-Hurwitz, *Wedding as Text: Communicating Cultural Identities Through Ritual* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2002) 102.

CHAPTER THREE
Function and Meaning

> We use rituals as a way of telling ourselves stories about our identities, and our communities, and through the process of telling the story of identity and community, we make it real, we give it meaning. Rituals have meaning for us because we conveniently forget that we ourselves have designed them, and so they readily take on larger implications.[163]

The meaning behind traditions is what prompts people to practice and maintain them. In regards to the mock weddings studied in this project, the greatest consensus of opinion occurred when the question "why?" was asked. The underlined words in the previous quote are truly interrelated and significant in this case – rituals and their meanings have an influence on our identities, both as individuals and as members of a community. From the information presented in the preceding chapters, the ritual of a mock wedding is one which originated in the community context, but which in most cases has great impact on the building of our own personal identities. And so, it is not really the specific words or costume pieces that are employed in the mock wedding, but the intention and objective implied by them that make it special and worth repeating. Perhaps that is why the very nature of the mock wedding can be so varied and improvised in each particular context; it is not the specific details of action that are of great importance, but rather what is represented as a whole – the meaning behind it all.

In the subsequent analysis I shall attempt to present the following: firstly, to draw parallels between mock weddings and other "chaotic" cultural performances to better understand the psychological intent behind such enactments; secondly, to briefly look at the joking relationship that takes place between the performers and their audience during such a production, and the delicate balance therein that must be negotiated; and finally, to look at specific passages from the interviews in order to illuminate the function and meaning of mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan.

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[163] Leeds-Hurwitz, 29.

It seems obvious, with a cross-dressing parody of any sort, that a main function is to depict forms of chaos.[164] Frank Manning defines chaos as "mischievous, sensual delight with irregularity and misrule."[165] Mikhail Bakhtin, in his study of Rabelais and the carnivalesque festivities in medieval Europe, states that many of the essential elements common to popular-festive forms of medieval Europe have survived, such as French *charivari* (similar to the *shivarees* mentioned in the previous chapter) and "bridal mockery," bearing similar elements of folk merriment and the carnivalesque.[166] The performance of a mock wedding encompasses both order and disorder and turns the seriousness and sacredness of an actual wedding ceremony or marriage celebration into complete and utter hilarity and pandemonium. By concentrating on the "disorder" and "anti-structure," the mock wedding caricatures the human situation.[167] The blatant portrayal of ambivalent chaos further reinforces "order" and "structure" in everyday life.

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[164] Mikhail Bakhtin states that with any ideas concerning folk culture, the notions of *carnival* or "chaos" are integral components. It is in this state of "chaos" that man's relationships with one another are illuminated. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helen Iswolsky (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) 6.

[165] Frank E. Manning, "Cosmos and Chaos: Celebration in the Modern World," *The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performance*, ed. Frank E. Manning (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983) 4.

[166] Bakhtin, 219.

[167] Manning, 14.

Similar manifestations where reality meets bedlam, have been practiced the world over to varying degrees and for various purposes. For example, the concept of Louisiana's *Mardi Gras* is structurally not unlike the mock wedding: costumes, masks, music, food and drink, general revelry, role reversal, and symbolic inversion. The same carnivalesque, make believe "world upside down" form is the most basic, salient feature of both rituals. Victor Turner addresses the issue of "performative reflexivity" when examining such forms of cultural performance in the following passage:

> Performative reflexivity is a condition in which a socio-cultural group, or its most perceptive members acting representatively, turn, bend or reflect back upon themselves, upon the relations, actions, symbols, meanings, codes, roles, statuses, social structures, ethical and legal rules, and other sociocultural components which make up their public 'selves'.[168]

Such cultural performances present the opportunity to play with boundaries and experiment with identities; after all, it would not be a joke if it were not mimicking real life to some extent. Manning comments on the comedic aspects of such cultural performances in the following passage:

> …the audience sees the spectacles as colourful and humourous pageantry, but generally fails to recognize itself as objects of satirical attack. It is a double joke.[169]

Not only is the basic enactment funny, but the satire of mocking the people gathered (either individuals, the community or their characteristics) without them realizing they are being mocked, adds another layer of humour to the situation. Thus, in order for a performance to be considered a parody, there must be some sort of inversion that takes place, transforming what is recognizable and ordinary into the unrecognizable and extraordinary.

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[168] Victor Turner, *The Anthropology of Performance* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986) 24.
[169] Manning, 16.

The symbolic reversal of the ideal, that being that all that is enacted is serious and that everyone participating in the marriage is of sound mind and morality, is part of the "chaos" that takes place. Greenhill comments on this symbolic reversal, in reference to the Anglo-Canadian mock weddings she studied in Ontario:

> The mock wedding textually travesties the conventional wedding ceremony. Playing upon inchoate cultural knowledge, it reverses or inverts the expected, reasonable behavior at such events…their (the performers') speech is loud and uncontrolled, and their actions and behavior usually more indecorous than they would use in most everyday situations, and would certainly be unusual at a formal occasion like a wedding…[170]

This is not to say that the joking is always in the best taste or even politically correct. Most of the humourous aspects fall between acceptable and unacceptable behavior, and it is finding the balance between the two extremes that is the most creative task. However, as part of the function of the joking relationship between performers and their audience, chaos and disorder must be represented, thereby emphasizing the importance of the eventual return to order and sanity.[171] Moira Smith and Rachelle H. Saltzman succinctly describe this delicate position in their discussion on tastelessness:

> In certain contexts, some jokes may be greeted with mock censure: a listener laughs but also says, 'That's awful!' The existence of such responses does not signal a flaw in the performance of the joke, but the listener's recognition of the sensitivities on which the joker has trampled. Both the performer's rule violation and the listener's censure are ludic enactments. Shared awareness

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[170] Pauline Greenhill, "Folk Drama in Anglo Canada and the Mock Wedding: Transaction, Performance, and Meaning," *Canadian Drama* 14.2 (1988) 186-7.

[171] Abner Cohen, "The Politics of Joking Relationships," *Masquerade Politics: Explorations in the Structure of Urban Cultural Movements* (Oxford: Berg Publishers Ltd., 1993) 130.

> of the existence of sensitivities and limits violated by
> an in-group performance may enhance the enjoyment
> of the performance, as the in-group colludes in permitting
> expressions they believe would shock outsiders.[172]

This is so true of the context in which most mock weddings are performed – usually some or all of the people gathered are part of a tight-knit ethnic community which possesses it's own "rules of conduct." Though there definitely is a superficial level of humour to the performance that could be considered entertaining to anyone, the inside jokes, those that set apart the community people from the outsiders, remain a relevant ingredient. This especially became an issue when intermarriage, that is when someone from the Ukrainian community married someone from outside of the Ukrainian community, became more common:

Informant	I remember at one where the bride was English and the groom was Ukrainian, and in the mockery, the groom asked the bride to make cabbage rolls, and so they were mocking how she was licking the cabbage like a cigarette paper and rolling it…they were doing silly things like this that made the bride ignorant, you know…of course she wouldn't know how…
Interviewer	And nobody got offended?
Informant	No! They laughed…that's how you do it…[173]

Though some of what was being enacted partially mirrored real life, it was simply done in fun, and the intention was not to hurt or offend. Even when the audience happened to be "mixed" (Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians), the typical intent of the mock wedding was to unite the two halves, not point out their differences. However, it is worth mentioning that even though mock weddings are directed at members of a particular community, it should not be assumed that the performance can be fully appreciated or understood on all levels by those members, or by others outside of that group.

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[172] Moira Smith and Rachelle H. Saltzman, "Introduction to Tastelessness," *Arbiters of Taste: Censuring/Censoring Discourse*, ed. Mary Ellen Brown, spec. issue of *Journal of Folklore Research* 32 (May-August 1995): 91.

[173] Mary Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003.

Given the fact that not much research has been done on the topic of mock weddings, conclusions about meaning and function are exploratory at this stage. It was surprising, therefore, to discover that regardless of other contextual and structural circumstances, the purpose of performing the mock wedding, according to the informants, was unanimous – "to have fun."

Especially during the first half of the century, when the opportunities for community socializing were few and far between and therefore extremely valuable, any opportunity for potential entertainment was taken advantage of. Given the geographic distances, lifestyle of hard labour, and the general difficulties associated with of rural life, it is not hard to imagine the importance of community gatherings. Therefore, at a wedding celebration the focus was not only on the bridal couple itself, but also on the community, and entertainment for all was considered to be a key aspect. After all, as serious and bittersweet as weddings could be, the celebration itself required many volunteers and long hours of preparation, which made all those gathered eager for a little rest and relaxation:

> …(the mock weddings) were important…the main part of the entertainment…the days before, everybody works like hell, they really labour. Then, the wedding is a religious sort of thing, then (after) the guests were hosted…that's when the mock time came – it was entertainment and fun time for all those people that worked so hard for the wedding…[174]

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[174] Nick and Mary Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003.

Many times, as payment for all the long hours, hard work, and supplies that had been donated, compensation would be in the form of good fun and entertainment. In that regard, the strongly supportive aspect of community life on the prairies was of paramount importance.

However, as the years passed by and as the need for homemade entertainment became less necessary, the mock wedding was performed not so much reimbursement for hard work and assistance, but rather a chance for everyone to let loose and relax:

> After everything is done, and everything happens, you just kind of drop your hair and have a good time…I think it's just a nice way to end a wedding celebration. It's a, sort of – a good laugh…its changes the mood from, you know, a showy gift opening celebration to kind of a drop your hair and have a good time celebration…They're a good icebreaker – it got people really mixing, and celebrating, and partying…A very positive, fun experience…it added something special to the day after the wedding, and I think that all the guests that were there left thinking 'Wow, that was really neat!'[175]

It is clear that the true purpose for staging these mock weddings, in the midst of all the stress and excitement of the real wedding is not only for casual entertainment, but to provide a pressure valve that allows all those gathered, including those in the cast, to relax, laugh, and enjoy each others' company.

Furthermore, according to some of the informants, the mock wedding serves an even more profound purpose. Not only does it provide the opportunity for everyone to laugh and have a good time, but it also carries with it a few life lessons for the newlyweds:

> I think it's probably to set the young couple at ease… you know, this is what life should be like – fun, laughter, because you've had a big day yesterday…you've joined two families – all of a sudden you have 'x' amount of

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[175] Debbie Holinaty, personal interview, 6 March 2003.

> new relatives and you've got to mingle a bit…To me, it's a fun thing, really enjoyable, and the young couple, they see that and they open up a little more and they have a good laugh.[176]

In such cases, that mock wedding that is performed the day after the wedding becomes an instrument to bring people together in what may potentially be an awkward situation, especially if the two newly united families are not from the same community. Ironically, such a comedic, and often bawdy performance may serve to reduce any tension and to bring those present closer together.

In the previous chapter, the section discussing "revival" suggests a third function for the mock wedding which emerged more recently in the urban context. Though they were performed partially for their comedic and entertainment value, they were also used as an educational and cultural tool by various Ukrainian organizations to try to promote Ukrainian culture and folklore in Canada. This new setting may have been somewhat artificial in view of the fact that the actual marriage of two individuals was not being celebrated. Nevertheless, it was used as an opportunity to introduce many to the idea of mock weddings, who then often "adopted" them into their own lives as a new vehicle of cultural expression, in addition to its primary purpose as entertainment.

When examining the meaning of the other folk dramatic productions that bear resemblance to mock weddings, it becomes clear that they share a common purpose. Both in the mock weddings studied in other parts of North America and in the *Tom Thumb* productions, the primary purpose behind such performances was entertainment. It is this timeless factor of entertainment that remains a concrete connecting fibre between the various folk dramas.

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[176] Ed Wojcichowsky, personal interview, 9 April 2003.

Beginning with the earliest remembrances of mock weddings in this study to the most recent, every informant offered the same explanations for the purpose and meaning of the performances. Despite differences in time, place, community, or ethnic background, all retained the universal need for social contact and humour in one's life. Although many other elements pertaining to mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan changed over time, the purpose remained constant.

And so, by examining the mock wedding ritual, which is of evident significance and value to those who practice it, we catch a glimpse of their identities as individuals, as families and as communities.

Conclusion

> …Culture is the conditioned mode of individual or collective behavior, rooted in the past and projected into the future. It forms a cycle: there is no present without the past, and there is no future without the present.[177]

Culture truly is both individual and collective and encompasses the past, present and the future. If nothing else, the existence and survival of the mock wedding tradition is evidence of the very culture that is inherent to life on the prairies.

Mock weddings, as practiced within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan, possess a history unlike most other forms of folk drama in Canada. Although they are a relatively unknown wonder to most people, according to preliminary research, they are part of a long and vibrant story on the prairies. Their beginnings have been lost because of the many decades that have passed while they have been in popular practice. Mock weddings continue to be maintained by a small part of the Ukrainian population in Saskatchewan, remaining ever changing and adapting to their environment, reflecting and affecting the society and culture in which they were created.[178]

However murky the question of origins remains, certain conclusions can be drawn about the mock wedding by incorporating the information uncovered by this study. Each chapter in this thesis has resulted in providing a better understanding of the various aspects and themes related to mock weddings, especially those in the Ukrainian context in Saskatchewan. Comparative evidence suggests that prairie life in combination with ethnicity and cultural traditions, molded an earlier form of folk drama into what is today known as the mock wedding. The possibility that the mock wedding was a "prairie invention," both in origin and in its later development, is most tantalizing.

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[177] D. Chyzhevs'kyi, *A History of Ukrainian Literature* (Littleton, Colorado, 1975) 222.
[178] See also Greenhill (1988) 197.

Moreover, it is the same prairie context that continues to perpetuate the tradition, with the community being of prime importance in the maintenance of this practice:

> Communities provide people with a reference for the creation of their social selves. They provide the larger context for the particular social text that they write at any given moment.[179]

Especially in earlier decades, the community was of paramount importance in the passing on of cultural traditions, which in turn, helped to influence the individuals being raised within its scope. To fulfill a basic need for social contact and entertainment there emerged a tradition of performing mock weddings, which later combined with cultural elements to form the distinct Ukrainian Canadian practice. Resulting from the combination of the necessities of the local environment and of culture, this blend of what is most salient and familiar helped preserve and cultivate the mock wedding tradition in its various forms.

Even with the "urban shift" that intensified during the 1950s and later, that saw many young rural people move out of their home environments into the large melting pot of the cities, the mock weddings were able to become acclimatized to the new circumstances and continued to exist, even with altered purposes and functions. No longer part of the rural wedding context, mock weddings were revived, practiced by close-knit groups of individuals and also by some organizations as a way to educate and transmit Ukrainian cultural traditions to the younger generation. This eventually grew into a renewal of the popularity of this tradition, as those who were genuinely interested took up the practice, enriching its original purpose of entertainment with cultural symbols.

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[179] Leeds-Hurwitz, 26.

In analyzing the information gleaned from the various remembrances collected about mock weddings, it seems appropriate to apply Dr. Robert Klymasz's theory regarding Ukrainian Canadian folk culture. Though Klymasz uses his scheme to classify folk art, his model is very applicable to mock weddings as well. Klymasz distinguishes "three distinct, yet interrelated parts"[180] of the Ukrainian folk heritage in Canada, labeling them "pioneer folk," "national art," and "ethnic pop." Pioneer folk, as the name suggests, encompasses the period of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and the art style brought by the immigrants with them to the new world. In essence, this clearly rural-centred art form is often more utilitarian than aesthetic, given the times and circumstances in which it originated.[181] When applying this classification to the mock wedding, the notion of its origins falls into this first category. The concept of a "prairie invention" discussed earlier points to the very utilitarian purpose of the early mock weddings; a source of fun and entertainment during times of hard labour and isolation.

The second paradigm discussed by Klymasz is "national art," where the intent is to show one's "Ukrainian-ness" in an urban context, elitism, and status.[182] In the case of this study, we can draw parallels with the educational aspect of the "summer camp" utilization of mock weddings to promote cultural awareness. Also, this classification seems well suited to include those that have a negative impression of mock weddings, because they find them offensive. Such people have a keen interest in maintaining cultural propriety and national patriotism, especially vis-à-vis the "outsiders."

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[180] Robert Klymasz, *Continuity and Change: The Ukrainian Folk Heritage in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Folk Culture Studies and the Communications Division of the National Museum of Man in co-operation with the Design and Display Division and the Publications Division of the National Museums of Canada, 1972) 5.
[181] Klymasz, 7.
[182] Klymasz, 8.

The chaotic tendencies of mock weddings touched upon and tampered with the very notions of order and propriety, hallmarks of organized Ukrainian culture. In large part due to the dichotomy between the institutional supra-cultural mandate of the broader urban Ukrainian community and to the equally traditional, yet rural Ukrainian community, the theory of "chaos," the shift from order to disorder,[183] could potentially offend and disturb the community audience members. However, the inclusion of politically *incorrect* behavior reinforces politically *correct* behavior, and by breaking the rules, the rules are enforced. Thus, in most cases, it was not the individual bawdy actions or comments that remained memorable to the members of the audience (either positive or negative), but rather the meaning behind them, the purpose, that was remembered longest.

Finally, Klymasz's third classification "ethnic pop" deals with its uninhibited experimentation and innovation.[184] In large part, the revival discussed in this project falls into this category. The "institutional" surfacing of the mock wedding tradition in the last thirty years, with the intent of sharing unique Ukrainian cultural traditions with a larger audience, has been often less than authentic, meaning the actual marriage of two individuals has not taken place.

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[183] According to Frank Manning, celebration encompasses both order and disorder, embracing play and ritual. Frank E. Manning, "Cosmos and Chaos: Celebration in the Modern World," *The Celebration of Society: Perspectives on Contemporary Cultural Performance*, ed. Frank E. Manning (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1983) 7.

[184] Klymasz, 10.

As mentioned several times previously, over the years mock weddings have maintained a somewhat fluid existence when it comes to stylistic, aesthetic and structural forms. Though there are clear similarities and trends that are apparent, each mock wedding seems to be specially tailored to its community and its context. One aspect, however, that has remained unaltered is the meaning behind the performance. No matter what the superficial purpose may be (educational tool, cultural or organizational vehicle, colourful ethnic practice, etc.), the underlying objective has always remained to entertain. It is essentially through shared experiences, such as entertainment, that social cohesion is established and maintained. Regardless of specific circumstances, mock weddings were intended to "turn the world upside down," to create a place where everyone is equal and where everybody can enjoy themselves and relax:

> Mock weddings are not created and performed to undermine the value of the ritual they travesty. They serve, as aesthetic transactions, to point out inconsistencies between ideals and reality and to mediate them through humour. The mock wedding sets symbolic and actual divisions aside for a moment, and joins all – participants and audience – together in a moment of cohesive laughter.[185]

No one benefits more from the social cohesion of such an event than the bridal couple that is being honoured. The mock wedding is also intended to serve as a celebration honouring the actual bridal couple, in addition to providing an opportunity for everyone to relax and be entertained. Indirectly, it is also a way for the bride and groom's loved ones to remind them of what's important in life: family, good friends, laughter and fun. By merely being present and participating as audience members in the mock wedding, those gathered show their support of other life lessons that are conveyed by the performance of the parody:

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[185] Greenhill (1988) 200.

> I think that it's just to bring in the whole idea to have fun in a relationship…to show that the family is part of all that fun…to bring the new family into it…it's just a bonding (experience) with some fun and humour.[186]

The important presence of family and loved ones is reinforced as something that everyone must learn to embrace, along with a good attitude in life.

The association between such terms as "ritual," "community," "identity" and "meaning" has been touched upon several times in this thesis. They are not mutually exclusive concepts when speaking of mock weddings, nor are they identical. Nonetheless, they each influence and affect each other equally, thereby forming a solid foundation on which unique and obscure cultural practices can take their place and flourish. Only by understanding the community and therefore its shared and individual identities, can one better comprehend the rituals practiced and their meanings. The interdependence of these ideas is essential information when collecting and studying folkloric topics.

Which brings to the surface the most challenging point encountered while conducting research on this topic. Simply put, not enough academic attention has been paid thus far to these little-known forms of folk drama. Although they may seem a bit bawdy at times, they are in that regard no different than *Mardi Gras* or *Carnival*, which also exhibit "inappropriate" behavior and are accepted both socially and as a topic for academic research. The very definition of folklore encompasses "the notions, beliefs, traditions, superstitions and prejudices of the common people,"[187] and politely omitting this form of folklore from academic study is not justifiable. Little documentation of this folk art form can be found in local history books or even in the provincial archives, but continued neglect of this topic in academic literature is detrimental to scholarship. It is therefore my hope that in spite of the introductory, highly descriptive, and exploratory nature of this thesis, others will be inspired to build on this base by collecting, studying and analyzing additional material pertaining to this topic.

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[186] Holly Stasiuk, personal interview, 7 March 2003.

As we enter the twenty-first century, Ukrainian culture continues to be prominently woven into the multi-coloured fabric of Canada. It has taken over one hundred years for Ukrainians to pass through the various phases of the Canadian experience, from immigrant arrivals to an almost entirely Canadian-born ethnic group. The history of Ukrainians in Canada offers continuous evidence of a strong will and perseverance to preserve their ethnic identity in the new land. In the course of the evolutionary process of Ukrainian culture in Canada, many of the old cultural formulations were abandoned, others have lingered on, still others have been re-examined, re-vamped and re-activated in an effort to depict and perpetuate the Ukrainian community's contemporary sense of ethnic distinctiveness.[188]

Continuity and change – an expression that succinctly characterizes the history of mock weddings within the Ukrainian community in Saskatchewan. Most of the informants subscribed to this explanation for the viability of the mock wedding tradition. The form of mock weddings has indeed changed throughout the last century, taking on new stylistic details, structural forms and functions. This seemingly obscure genre of folk drama has endured over six decades, and possibly from the turn of the century, or even earlier. When one examines the little understood and strange rituals of a community, one can find even in the most humble of traditions a reflection of the fundamentals of life that make folklore so intriguing and enriching. After all, even in their most basic form, mock weddings can be viewed as sincere celebrations – of ritual, of family, of community, and of life.

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[187] "Folklore," *The Wordsworth Concise English Dictionary*, 1994 ed.
[188] Klymasz, 12.

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APPENDIX A
List of Interviews

All interviews were conducted by the author. Copies will be deposited in the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives, University of Alberta, accession number 2003.066.

Anonymous informant, personal interview, 9 April 2003

Taras Bayda, personal interview, 10 March 2003 (video footage collected)

Nick and Mary Budzak, personal interview, 8 March 2003

Cheryl Fedusiak, personal interview, 4 March 2003 (video footage collected)

Anne Hluchaniuk, personal interview, 10 April 2003

Debbie Holinaty, personal interview, 6 March 2003

Robert and Ksenia Hrycuik, personal interview, 6 March 2003

Mary Humen, personal interview, 5 March 2003

Mary Kindrachuk, personal interview, 4 March 2003

Rachel Kowaluk, personal interview, 11 January 2003

Rev. Taras and Joanne Makowsky, personal interview, 6 March 2003

Anne Michayliuk, personal interview, 9 April 2003

Alice Prociuk, personal interview, 9 March 2003

Tom and Sharon Semeschuk, personal interview, 3 March 2003

Sonia and Harold Sokyrka, personal interview, 11 January 2003

Holly Stasiuk, personal interview, 7 March 2003

Elsie Stefanuk, personal interview, 10 March 2003

Julianna Thachuk, personal interview, 4 January 2003 (video footage collected)

Ed Wojcichowsky, personal interview, 9 April 2003

Irene Yurashak, personal interview, 8 April 2003

APPENDIX B
List of Fieldwork Questions [1 of 2]

1. Tell me about when you got married.
2. Where and when did you get married?
3. How long did your wedding last?
4. Tell me about your *popravyny*.
5. Where were the *popravyny* held?
6. How were people invited to the *popravyny*? How many?
7. Tell me about the mock wedding performed at your *popravyny*.
8. What kinds of preparations were necessary?
9. Who helped in all these preparations?
10. Who was is charge of planning and leading the mock wedding?
11. Were you aware that a mock wedding would be performed?
12. When exactly did it take place in relation to the other events that day?
13. Who were the characters involved?
14. How was the bride dressed?
15. Did she carry a bouquet of flowers?
16. How was the groom dressed?
17. How were the other characters dressed?
18. Were there *starosta* characters?
19. Was there music played/songs sung? By whom? Do you remember the songs?
20. Were there specific props used? What were they? Who were they used by and for what?

21. Was there a *korovai* / *kolach* / *derevtse*? Who made these? How were they used?

22. What was the typical order of events?

23. Where were you (the bride and groom) during this time?

24. Which was the highlight of the mock wedding?

25. Have you ever performed in a mock wedding yourself?

26. Would you say that mock weddings are common?

27. Are mock weddings a necessary/important part of the wedding tradition?

28. Were there any changes in custom when the couple included older people, non-Ukrainian spouses?

29. What changes occurred with time?

30. What was the purpose of the mock wedding?

APPENDIX C [1 of 6]
Chart of Fieldwork Data

X – no	? – no information	**comm.** – community
• - yes	**OW** – own wedding	**OB** – observant
P – participant	**F of b** – father of the bride	**M of b** – mother of the bride

	CONTEXT						CHARACTERS			
INFORMANT	WHEN	WHERE	FOR WHOM	DAY AFTER	ANNIVERSARY	PEOPLE	MOCK BRIDE VEIL	MOCK BRIDE WHITE	MOCK BRIDE OTHER CLOTHING	MOCK BRIDE WREATH
Mary Kindrachuk	1930s	St. Julien	cousin OB	•	X	family	lace tablecloth	•	X	X
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	Nov. 8, 1942	St. Julien @ husband's farm	OW	•	X	family	Lace curtain	•	apron	X
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	1946	Melfort / Brooksby area	OW	•	X	Family (father & aunt)	sheer curtains	•	X	dandelions
Nick Budzak	1940s	St. Julien	comm. P	•	X	family, neighbours	?	•	X	X
Robert Hrycuik	1940s 1950s	Hafford area	family, comm., OB	•	X	family, neighbours	?	•	X	X
Ksenia Hrycuik	1940s 1950s	Alvena Area	family, comm., OB	•	X	family, neighbours	?	•	X	X
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	1940s+	Nipawin area	family P/OB	•	X	family	curtain	• or flowers	apron	garden flowers
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	1950s+	Yellow Creek area	family OW OB	•	X	family of the groom	curtain tablecloth	•	X	X
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	Aug.4 1963	Saskatoon, but from Nipawin	OW family P/OB	•	X	family	curtain	X	M of b dress	Ribbon in loops
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	Jun 24 1973	Gorlitz, near Yorkton	OW OB	•	X	Family Friends	Veil	•	X	X
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	July 1973	Moose Jaw	OW OB	•	X	Family friends	Lace tablecloth	•	X	X
Debbie Holinaty	1981	Smutts area	Family P/OB	•	X	Family Friends	veil	•	X	X
Elsie Stefanuk	1981	Saskatoon	Son's family OB	•	X	Family friends	Veil and tablecloth for train	•	X	X
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	July 1982	Alvena area	OW family	•	X	Family friends	Lace curtain	X	Black dress	BK crown
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	1983	Saskatoon	OW P/OB	•	X	Family friends	veil	•	X	X
Ed Wojcichowsky	1984	near Vancouver	Family OB	•	X	Family	curtain	•	X	X
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	July 1986	Alvena hall	Family OB	•	X	Family	Veil and hat	X	Flower dress	X
Holly Stasiuk	1960s+	Buchanan area	Family P/OB	•	•	Family	curtain	•	X	X
Cheryl Fedusiak	1992	Insinger Area	Family P/OB	•	X	Family	Lace Curtain	•	X	X
Julie Thachuk	1992	Saskatoon	OW	•	X	Family friends	Lace curtain	White blouse slip	X	X
Mary Humen	1999	Alvena area	Family P/OB	•	X	Family friends	veil	•	X	X
John and Danielle Chayka	2000	Saskatoon	OW	•	X	Family friends	X	X	Ukr. Cstm.	*khustka*

APPENDIX C [2 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)							
INFORMANT	MOCK BRIDE BOUQUET-WEEDS	MOCK BRIDE BOUQUET-VEGETABLES	MOCK BRIDE BOOTS	MOCK BRIDE MAKE-UP	MOCK BRIDE PREGNANT	MOCK BRIDE OTHER	MOCK BRIDE CROSS-DRESSED	MOCK GROOM OLD CLOTHING
Mary Kindrachuk	X	carrots, green tops	X	X	X	X	•	coveralls
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	grass, hay, dandelions	horseradish	X	wig	•	crying stumbling drunk	•	overalls
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	dandelions	X	X	X	X	X	•	coveralls, shirt
Nick Budzak	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	coveralls
Robert Hrycuik	•	X	X	X	X	X	•	coveralls
Ksenia Hrycuik	•	•	X	X	X	X	•	coveralls
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	X	garlic, onions, rhubarb leaves	•	X	not always	X	•	coveralls old suit suspenders shirt & tie
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	•	X	X	X	X	X	•	old suit
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	X	Garlic, onions rhubarb	X	X	X	drunk	•	Overalls
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	•	X	X	X	X	X	•	Old suit
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	•	X	X	X	X	X	Tall man	coveralls
Debbie Holinaty	X	Onion Potato *Hychka* poppies	X	X	X	X	•	and suspenders
Elsie Stefanuk	• with flowers	X	X	•	X	X	•	Old suit
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	•	X	•	•	X	X	•	Old suit
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	• + mophead	X	X	•	X	X	•	Old suit
Ed Wojcichowsky	X	Onions Garlic carrots	X	•	X	X	X	coveralls
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	X	X	•	•	X	X	•	Overalls
Holly Stasiuk	•	X	X	•	•	wigs	•	overalls
Cheryl Fedusiak	Fake flowers	X	X	•	X	wig	•	Old suit
Julie Thachuk	Dead flowers and leaves	X	X	•	X	Wig jewelry	•	Old pants Plaid shirt
Mary Humen	Plastic flowers	X	X	•	•	moustache	•	Old suit
John and Danielle Chayka	•	X	X	•	X	X	•	Ukr. costume

APPENDIX C [3 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)									
INFORMANT	MOCK GROOM HAT	MOCK GROOM FACIAL HAIR	MOCK GROOM HANDS TIED	MOCK GROOM OTHER	MOCK GROOM CROSS-DRESSED	MOCK BRIDESMAID DRESS	MOCK BRIDESMAID HATS	MOCK BRIDESMAID MAKE-UP	MOCK BRIDESMAID #	MOCK BRIDESMAID CROSS-DRESSED
Mary Kindrachuk	?	?	?	?	•	X	X	X	X	X
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	X	X	X	rope corsage to knees	•	X	X	X	X	X
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	X	X	X	X	•	•	X	X	4	•
Nick Budzak	•	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Robert Hrycuik	X	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Ksenia Hrycuik	X	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	•	•	• with rope	pipe	•	•	X	X	2 - 4	•
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	X	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	fur hood	X	X	X	•	•	X	X	1	X
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	•	X	• with rope	X	•	•	• rhubarb leaves	X	2	•
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	train hat	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Debbie Holinaty	X	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Elsie Stefanuk	X	•	X	Ribbon corsage	•	•	•	•	2	•
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	•	•	X	Plastic lay	•	•	•	•	1	•
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	•	X	X	X	•	•	X	•	2	•
Ed Wojcichowsky	•	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	•	X	X	X	•	•	X	•	4	•
Holly Stasiuk	Cap	•	X	X	•	•	X	•	2-4	•
Cheryl Fedusiak	cap	X	X	Wig corsage	•	•	•	X	1	•
Julie Thachuk	•	•	X	tie	•	Ukr. costume	vinok	•	1	•
Mary Humen	•	•	X	Fake nose	•	•	X	•	2	•
John and Danielle Chayka	cap	•	X	X	•	Kilt *khustka*	wig	•	1	•

APPENDIX C [4 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)											
INFORMANT	MOCK GROOMSMAN OLD CLOTHING	MOCK GROOMSMAN HAT	MOCK GROOMSMAN FACIAL HAIR	MOCK GROOMSMAN #	MOCK GROOMSMAN CROSS-DRESSED	PRIEST BLACK	PRIEST COLLAR	PRIEST MAN	PRIEST GOSPEL	PRIEST CROSS	PRIEST CENSOR	OTHER CHARACTERS
Mary Kindrachuk	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	mother of the bride
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	suits long ribbons for corsages	X	X	4	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	starosta
Nick Budzak	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	•	X	X	X	X
Robert Hrycuik	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ksenia Hrycuik	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	old suits ribbon corsages	X	•	2 - 4	•	•	•	•	X	X	basket tin can	starosta (sometimes)
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	X	X	X	X	X	•	X	•	X	X	X	X
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	• and boots	X	X	1	X	•	•	•	•	X	X	X
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	•	•	• blue paint	1	•	X	•	•	Eaton's	stick	Pail w/ straw	X
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	X	X	X	X	X	•	•	•	X	X	X	m+f of bride
Debbie Holinaty	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Elsie Stefanuk	•	•	•	2	•	•	X	•	Playboy	twig	X	X
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	•	•	•	1	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	driver
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	•	•	X	2	•	•	•	•	sears	tire iron	X	X
Ed Wojcichowsky	X	X	X	X	X	• garbage bag	•	X	X	taped on hat	X	X
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	•	•	•	3	•	•	•	•	X	X	pail	X
Holly Stasiuk	•	•	•	2-4	•	•	•	•	•	•	X	X
Cheryl Fedusiak	•	•	X	1	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Julie Thachuk	•	• and dill	•	1	•	X	X	X	X	X	X	M of b F of b starosta
Mary Humen	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	M of b F of b
John and Danielle Chayka	Ukr. shirt shorts	X	•	1	•	•	•	X	Dr. Seus	X	water bottle	2 icon holders altar boy

APPENDIX C [5 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)			STRUCTURE						
INFORMANT	OTHER PROPS	TRANSPORTATION	MUSICIANS	PARENTAL BLESSING	WEDDING CEREMONY	TOASTS	PRESENTATION	FIRST DANCE	VEIL DANCE	SELLING OF BRIDE
Mary Kindrachuk	?	?	washboard pans	X	X	•	•	•	X	X
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	?	?	violin guitar accordian banjo	X	X	•	•	•	X	X
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	X	wheelbarrow	family	X	X	•	"z prynosom" decorated chickens	•	•	•
Nick Budzak	X	wheelbarrow	drum, violin mouth-organ	X	walk in to altar bound w/rope	•	•	•	X	X
Robert Hrycuik	derevtse	buggy	family neighbours	X	X	•	•	•	X	•
Ksenia Hrycuik	X	wheelbarrow	family neighbours	X	X	•	•	•	X	•
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	X	wheelbarrow ½ tonne with bails of hay	violin guitar	X	funny vows kovbasa	•	"z prynosom" food	•	X	not always
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	X	parade in	pails, spoons	•	•	•	•	•	X	not always
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	blanket kovbasa shotgun	wheelbarrow	violin tsymbaly	X	•	•	X	•	X	X
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	X	parade in	X	X	vows crowns (tin)	X	X	X	X	X
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	X	parade in	X	X	Vows	X	X	X	X	X
Debbie Holinaty	X	½ tonne	wedding band	•	X	•	Hen + chicks From parents Of bride	•	X	X
Elsie Stefanuk	X	parade in	spoons, washboard mouth organ	•	•	•	X	•	X	X
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	bottles	old car	taped	X	X	•	•	•	X	X
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	hubcaps for crowns	parade down the street	accordion, violin guitar	X	•	•	•	•	X	X
Ed Wojcichowsky	red lipstick	parade in	taped pots pans	•	•	•	X	•	X	X
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	X	parade in	violin tsymbaly	•	Just vows	•	• live chickens	•	X	X
Holly Stasiuk	shotgun, whiskey kovbasa, garlic	parade in	violin, guitar, bass	X	•	•	•	•	X	X
Cheryl Fedusiak	garlic, garter all masked	parade in	violin, accordion, guitar	X	X	•	•	•	X	X
Julie Thachuk	whiskey	parade in	Lambada	X	X	•	•	•	•	•
Mary Humen	X	parade in	violin accordion	X	vows	•	•	•	X	X
John and Danielle Chayka	kovbasa, records for icons, BK crowns	parade in	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X

APPENDIX C [6 of 6]

PARTICIPATION													
INFORMANT	SINGING	BRIDAL COUPLE PARTICIPATION	AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION	PERSONALIZED	LANGUAGE	LENGTH	OUTSIDE	INSIDE	AUDIENCE SIZE	SURPRISE	IMPROVIZATION	PURPOSE
Mary Kindrachuk	•	no	X	no	Ukr	30 mins.	•	X	~ 50	common	•	To fool real groom, for fun.
Alice Prociuk (nee Mochoruk)	•	hiding	w/ dialogue	no	Ukr	30 mins.	•	X	~ 50-75	expected	•	To fool groom's parents, getting used to other family, entertainment.
Mary Woroniuk-Budzak (nee Wozniak)	•	dancing with mb · mg	commen-tary	no	Ukr	2 hours	•	X	~ 50-75	yes	•	Entertainment
Nick Budzak	•	no	commen-tary	in song	Ukr	~ 1hr.	•	X	~ 50-75	expected	•	To have fun, for entertainment, getting together.
Robert Hrycuik	•	hiding – derevtse is sold	commen-tary	no	Ukr	30 mins – 1hr.	•	X	~ 50	common	•	Meant to be funny.
Ksenia Hrycuik	•	hiding	commen-tary	no	Ukr	30 mins – 1hr.	•	X	~ 50	common	•	All in fun.
Anne Hluchaniuk (nee Kozun)	•	no	commen-tary	no	both	~ 1 hr.	•	X	~ 50-100	uncommon if no MW	•	For the heck of it, just for fun, no special reason, to get together.
Anne Michayluk (Wojcichowsky)	•	no	commen-tary	no	both	~ 30 mins	•	X	~ 25-50	common	•	A fun, Ukrainian thing. A lot of laughs. Mb and mg sometimes try to steal the trousseau.
Irene Yurashak (Hluchaniuk)	•	no	commen-tary	no	Ukr	30 mins	•	X	~ 50	expected	•	Fun, in the spirit of fun.
Harold + Sonia Sokyrka	•	no	no	no	Ukr. Eng.	20 mins	•	X	~ 50	yes	•	Just for fun – people still talking about it.
Tom + Sharon Semeschuk	•	no	no	no	both	20min	•	X	~ 50	yes	•	For enjoyment, to make day 2 fun.
Debbie Holinaty	•	dancing	dancing toasting	no	Ukr	2-3 hrs	•	X	50-100	yes	•	Final festivity and grand finale to 3-day wedding celebration.
Elsie Stefanuk	X	no	toasting	no	both	1 hr	•	X	~ 50	yes	•	Not important, but fun. Entertainment.
Donna Bayda-Sapieha	X	dancing	dancing	no	both	30-45 min.	•	X	50-75	yes	•	For fun.
Rev. Taras + Joanne Makowsky	•	no	dialogue	no	both	20 min	•	X	~ 50	yes	•	To keep party going, social aspect of married life, intro to day's activities, ice-breaker after stress.
Ed Wojcichowsky	•	dialogue dancing	dialogue	No	both	30 min	X	•	~ 30	yes	•	To set young couple at ease, this is what life should be like, to embarrass them a little, life should be fun and full of laughter.
Vonnie Bayda-Sapieha	X	dancing	dancing dialogue	no	both	20 min	X	•	~ 50	Yes	•	Entertainment
Holly Stasiuk	•	dancing	dancing dialogue	Yes	both	30min - 1 hr	X	•	~ 100	yes	•	To show that you need fun in a relationship and that family is a part of the fun. To bring the new family into the fold – a bonding experience.
Cheryl Fedusiak	X	toasting dancing	toasting dialogue	no	silent	15 min	X	•	50-75	yes	•	A fun family tradition for the day after the wedding. Just for laughs.
Julie Thachuk	X	dancing	dancing dialogue	Yes	both	30 min	X	•	100-150	yes	•	To have fun and relax the day after the wedding.
Mary Humen	•	no	dialogue	no	Eng.	30 min	X	•	~ 50	yes	•	To entertain and have some fun. A good way to end the wedding.
John and Danielle Chayka	•	no	no	Yes	both	20 min	•	X	~ 50	yes	•	To entertain and have a few laughs. A community tradition.

APPENDIX D [1 of 6]

Chart of Comparative Sources

X – no	? – no information	**comm.** – community
• - yes	**OW** – own wedding	**OB** – observant
P – participant	**F of b** – father of the bride	**M of b** – mother of the bride

	CONTEXT						CHARACTERS			
NAME	WHEN	WHERE	FOR WHOM	DAY AFTER	ANNIVERSARY	PEOPLE	MOCK BRIDE VEIL	MOCK BRIDE WHITE	MOCK BRIDE OTHER CLOTHING	MOCK BRIDE WREATH
Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	1933	Ukraine	?	•	X	Family friends	?	?	?	?
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	1998	Central Ukraine	Family friends	• / day	X	Family friends	?	?	?	?
Mandryk wedding	1995	Western Ukraine	family	Day of	X	Family friends	White curtain	•	X	X
Malanka	19th /20th century	Ukraine	comm.	New Year's Eve	X	Community	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	p.1996	North/ Western Ukraine	Family friends	•	X	Family friends community	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	p.1909	Central Ukraine	Family friends	•	X	Family friends community	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	1967	Central Ukraine	Family friends	•	X	Family friends community	X	X	X	X
Tom Thumb	1918	BC	?	X	• perf.	community	Lace curtain	•	?	?
Taft research	1980s	SK N Dakota	Family friends	X	•	community	Curtain tablecloth	•	?	?
Greenhill research	1980s	Ontario	Family friends	X	• shower	community families	Curtain tablelcoth	•	?	?
Irish *Tim Thiri*	1969	Ireland	?	• / day	X	community families	?	Not always	?	?
Norwegian MW	20th C.	Sask.	?	X	•/ shower	Family friends	?	•	?	?
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	p.2002	Chicago	Polish family tradition	Day of	X	Male family	?	?	?	?
New York PhD dissertation	1995	N. New York state	Davis family	X	•	Female relatives	•	•	?	?
Mumming	20th C.	NFLD	comm.	X	X	community	X	X	X	X
Shivaree	20th C.	England	comm.	X	X	community	?	?	?	?

APPENDIX D [2 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)							
NAME	MOCK BRIDE BOUQUET-WEEDS	MOCK BRIDE BOUQUET-VEGETABLES	MOCK BRIDE BOOTS	MOCK BRIDE MAKE-UP	MOCK BRIDE PREGNANT	MOCK BRIDE OTHER	MOCK BRIDE CROSS-DRESSED	MOCK GROOM OLD CLOTHING
Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Mandryk wedding	•	X	?	•	•	Crying bowing	•	•
Malanka	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tom Thumb	?	**Rhubarb leaves**	•	•	?	**curlers**	•	**Old suit**
Taft research	•	•	?	•	Not always	?	•	**Old suit**
Greenhill research	•	•	?	•	•	?	•	**Old suit**
Irish *Tim Thiri*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Norwegian MW	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
New York PhD dissertation	?	?	?	?	Not always	?	X	?
Mumming	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Shivaree	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

APPENDIX D [3 of 6]

NAME	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)									
	MOCK GROOM HAT	MOCK GROOM FACIAL HAIR	MOCK GROOM HANDS TIED	MOCK GROOM OTHER	MOCK GROOM CROSS-DRESSED	MOCK BRIDESMAID DRESS	MOCK BRIDESMAID HATS	MOCK-BRIDESMAID MAKE-UP	MOCK BRIDESMAID #	MOCK BRIDESMAID CROSS-DRESSED
Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mandryk wedding	•	X	X	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Malanka	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tom Thumb	•	?	?	?	•	•	?	•	?	•
Taft research	•	•	?	?	•	•	?	?	?	•
Greenhill research	?	?	?	?	•	•	?	?	?	•
Irish *Tim Thiri*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Norwegian MW	?	?	?	w/gun	?	X	X	X	X	X
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	?	?	?	?	?	X	?	?	?	?
New York PhD dissertation	?	?	?	?	•	•	?	?	?	X
Mumming	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Shivaree	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

APPENDIX D [4 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)											
NAME	MOCK GROOMSMAN OLD CLOTHING	MOCK GROOMSMAN HAT	MOCK GROOMSMAN FACIAL HAIR	MOCK GROOMSMAN #	MOCK GROOMSMAN CROSS-DRESSED	PRIEST BLACK	PRIEST COLLAR	PRIEST MAN	PRIEST GOSPEL	PRIEST CROSS	PRIEST CENSOR	OTHER CHARACTERS
3Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	gypsies tavernkeepers soldiers bears
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	X	X	X	X	X	?	?	?	?	?	?	gypsies and others
Mandryk wedding	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	doctor
Malanka	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Malanka Vasyl' Bear Horse Goat Kozak Gypsy Doctor
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Gypsy Old Man Old Woman
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	Woman Soldier and others
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	gypsies and others
Tom Thumb	?	?	?	?	?	•	?	•	Eaton's catalogue	?	?	parents
Taft research	•	?	?	?	•	•	?	•	Playboy magazine	?	?	parents ringbearer
Greenhill research	•	?	?	?	•	•	?	?	•	?	?	parents
Irish *Tim Thiri*	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	"straw men"
Norwegian MW	X	X	X	X	X	• 2	?	•	?	?	?	grandparents parents flower Girl organist
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
New York PhD dissertation	•	?	?	?	•	•	?	X	?	?	?	parents girlfriend
Mumming	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	various characters
Shivaree	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	mocking community individuals

APPENDIX D [5 of 6]

	CHARACTERS (cont'd.)			STRUCTURE						
NAME	OTHER PROPS	TRANSPORTATION	MUSICIANS	PARENTAL BLESSING	WEDDING CEREMONY	TOASTS	PRESENTATION	FIRST DANCE	VEIL DANCE	SELLING OF BRIDE
Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	pans pails collection plate	parade around	• and dancing	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	decorated cart chickens food alcohol	parade around	?	?	?	•	?	?	?	?
Mandryk wedding	*korovai*	parade in	•	X	X	•	X	•	?	Barter
Malanka	various	house-to-house visitation	•	X	X	•	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	Blacksmith ironware	parade around	?	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	sacks various items alcohol	parade around	?	X	X	•	X	X	X	X
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	food chickens various items	parade around	?	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
Tom Thumb	?	?	?	?	•	?	?	?	?	?
Taft research	various items for rings, etc	Parade in	Band or taped music	?	•	?	?	?	?	?
Greenhill research	variety	Parade in	Band or taped music	?	•	•	?	•	?	?
Irish *Tim Thiri*	all straw masks	Burst In	•	?	?	?	?	•	?	?
Norwegian MW	cigar elec.cords jar rings eggshells	Ride in on brooms	?	X	•	X	X	X	X	X
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	shotgun	?	?	?	•	?	?	?	?	?
New York PhD dissertation	shotgun	?	Taped music	?	•	?	?	?	?	?
Mumming	?	House-to-house visitation	•	X	X	?	X	X	X	X
Shivaree	pots pans tins bells horns	Parade to home of "offender"	•	X	X	?	X	X	X	X

APPENDIX D [6 of 6]

	PARTICIPATION											
NAME	SINGING	BRIDAL COUPLE PARTICIPATION	AUDIENCE PARTICIPATION	PERSONALIZED	LANGUAGE	LENGTH	OUTSIDE	INSIDE	AUDIENCE SIZE	SURPRISE	IMPROVIZATION	PURPOSE
Katryne vesillia (Hnat Khotkevych)	?	?	?	?	Ukr.	?	?	?	?	?	?	Dressed up m and f of bride and wheeled them in a wheelbarrow. Much drinking and revelry.
Tsyhanshchyna (Kononenko)	?	?	?	?	Ukr.	?	?	?	?	?	?	Dressed up m and f of bride and wheeled them around in a wheelbarrow. Much drinking and revelry. Also cross-dressing.
Mandryk wedding	X	groom	•	?	Ukr.	30 mins	•	X	30?	?	?	To deceive the groom. Groom refuses mock bride at the end. To have fun.
Malanka	•	X	•	X	both	30 mins	X	•	?	X	yes/ no	To entertain and to celebrate New Year's holidays.
Comical Costumed Episodes (Kondratovych)	?	?	•	?	Ukr.	?	•	X	?	?	•	For entertainment.
Tsyhanshchyna (Hrinchenko)	X	X	•	?	Ukr.	?	•	X	?	?	•	For entertainment.
Comical Costumed Episodes (Shubravs'ka)	X	X	•	?	Ukr.	?	•	X	?	?	•	For entertainment.
Tom Thumb	?	?	?	?	Eng.	?	?	?	?	?	Script	For entertainment.
Taft research	?	X	•	•	Eng.	?	X	•	50-100	•	Script	Entertainment, roast.
Greenhill research	?	X	•	•	Eng.	?	X	•	?	•	Script	Entertainment, roast.
Irish *Tim Thiri*	?	dancing	•	?	?	?	X	•	?	•	yes	For good luck.
Norwegian MW	X	?	?	?	Eng.	30 mins	?	?	?	?	Script	For fun.
Hurwitz German/Polish American wedding	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	"It's just a big comedy thing."
New York PhD dissertation	?	?	?	?	Eng.	?	?	?	?	•	•	To have fun – reverse traditional roles in society.
Mumming	?	X	•	?	?	?	X	•	?	•	•	For entertainment.
Shivaree	•	?	•	?	?	?	X	•	?	•	•	To mock, for entertainment.